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1. 1000
THE *Nº 290*
THEORY and PRACTICE
OF
COMMERCE
AND
MARITIME AFFAIRS.

Written originally in SPANISH,

By Don GERONYMO DE UZTARIZ,

*Knight of the Order of St. Jago, Member of his Catholick Majesty's
Privy Council, of the Royal Board of Trade and the Mint, and his
Majesty's Secretary in the Council and Chamber of the Indies.*

Translated from the Original,

By JOHN KIPPAX, B. D.

*Fellow of Clare-hall, and Master of the Academy in Little
Tower-street.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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To his Royal Highness

GEORGE

Prince of WALES.

SIR,

AS this work was undertaken by the command of your Royal Highness's Father, and wholly printed off with the following dedication, before the melancholy event happened, that is so sensibly felt by every friend of

VOL. I. a our

DEDICATION.

our present happy constitution,
the translator thought it his duty
to present it to your Royal High-
ness, and has the honour of being,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's

most humble,

and most devoted Servant,

J KIPPAX.

TO



T O

His Royal Highness

T H E

Prince of W A L E S.

S I R,

FOR the original of the translation, which I have the honour to present your Royal Highness, we are in debt to a late minister in Spain, of great abilities, application, and publick virtue. The subject is commerce and maritime affairs; two things, that particularly interest, and command the attention of Great Britain; and, independant of the uncommon skill and penetration shewn in treating both

ii DEDICATION.

these points, as the work is also the most curious, useful and thorough scrutiny into the trade, and present state of the Spanish monarchy, that has ever appeared in any part of the world, a translation of it, in this single view, must needs recommend itself to this nation, whose commerce is so intimately connected with that of the Spaniards, when they pursue their natural and real interest.

Don Antonio de Uztariz, the author, affected with the deepest concern to see the monarchy of Spain, that had shone forth so illustrious in history, become a prey to false politicks, and reduced to the lowest circumstances of distress, like a dutiful subject to his prince, and a zealous friend to his country, exerted his admired abilities in chalking out a way to recover her lost credit, power, and dignity. The means, he proposed, was a re-establishment of commerce upon the solid basis of numerous manufactories; a sure way to accomplish this great end, were it to take effect: but, to their misfortune, the wretched turn of the lower class of people
in

DEDICATION. iii

in that kingdom, and some other things so little favour it, that they will always be obliged to have many commodities from other countries. Happy then, would it be for them to learn one lesson our author teaches, and import those only from countries that take the growth and produce of Spain in return, instead of encouraging those who must be paid for their manufactures entirely in bullion, and who thus will, in time, extract the very vitals of the kingdom.

This valuable treatise was first printed in the year 1724, and dedicated to his late majesty of Spain; but it was then apprehended by the court of Madrid not to be a proper season to make it publick. The printed copies were accordingly destroyed, while the author was carested, rewarded, and loaded with honours; and in the year 1742, the work was ordered to be reprinted, under the care of the marquis de Uztariz, son of Don Antonio, who died in this interval.

iv DEDICATION.

From the grand views our author had of reviving and extending the commerce of Spain, by setting up new manufactories and fabricks of all kinds, with extraordinary privileges and indulgencies, it certainly behoves Great Britain to be upon her guard, and to take every prudent precaution against any measures that may affect or injure her own traffick with that kingdom; nor is any way so likely to attain the desirable end, as favouring and giving due encouragement to her own manufacturers, that it may be their interest, as well as inclination, to stay at home.

That your Royal Highness has been graciously pleased to encourage this work, is a fresh instance of your love and affection to this kingdom, added to those numerous acts of generosity, which have already made the name of the Prince of Wales dear to the people of England. No bosom is ignorant, or insensible of their value, but the Royal One from whence they flow so naturally; and, in truth, it
is

DEDICATION. v

is with the utmost joy, gratitude and veneration, that Great Britain sees a Prince of Wales so eminently distinguished with every private, as well as publick virtue; who chearfully embraces and supports every proposal for her real advantage; who makes the commercial interests of this nation his particular study, and is a zealous encourager of trade, because he intimately knows the value of it, that it is the main foundation of the riches, grandeur, and happiness of this island; and who, as a friend and lover of mankind, must needs be a steady guardian and protector of those invaluable privileges, our laws, liberty, and religion; the preservation of which we owe to his illustrious grandfather, and which have been so happily continued and cherished under the auspicious reign of his present Majesty; a joyful prospect to every true Briton, who can see nothing wanting to complete the happiness of an island, that is already the envy and admiration of Europe.

vi DEDICATION.

Permit me only to add with the most
profound veneration, that I am,

S I R,

Your Royal Highness's

Most humble and

Most devoted Servant,

John Kippax.

THE
A P P R O B A T I O N
O F

Father JOACHIN DE VILLAREAL, of
the Society of JESUS, and its acting Pro-
curator-general for the Province of Chili.

BY order of Senor Don Ignacio Clemente de Arostegui, canon and dignitary of the cathedral church of Toledo, and vicar-general of Madrid and its district, &c. I have read, with the utmost attention, a treatise intituled, *The Theory and Practice of Commerce and Maritime Affairs*, written by Senor Don Gerónimo de Uztariz, knight of the order of St. Jago, member of his majesty's privy council, of the royal board of commerce and the mint, and his majesty's secretary in the council and chamber of the Indies; which, as there are but very few copies of its first impression of the year 1724, is to be reprinted with the author's own emendations and improvements, under the care of his son the marquis of Uztariz, commendary of Usagre and Biedma in the order of St. Jago, member of his majesty's privy council, of the royal board of commerce and the mint, and secretary of state and war.

This undertaking of our author I look upon with a kind of veneration, and it is deserving of the highest applause; for if Gregory of Nazienzum places doing
good

good in the number of divine perfections *. an ambition to make a whole kingdom happy exalts a person still more above the sphere of humanity. But since repairing a decayed state is, in the opinion of Aristotle †, an attempt no less arduous than to lay a foundation for a new kingdom, I was afraid his glorious project would fall under a disgrace, that has been the fate of many political writers in Spain, who have found no better reward for their laudable industry, than the mortification of neglect, and to see their works buried in oblivion ; either because their representations have been too faint to set forth the distresses of their country, and awake a due compassion ; or the measures they proposed were insufficient, and not certain to afford relief ; or if they were, the remedy was too much at the expence of the treasury, and attended with insuperable difficulties : for, did they not labour under some of these imperfections, it is not to be imagined that a ministry, so discerning and publick spirited as this monarchy has been always favoured with, could have the heart to see her ready to sink amidst a sea of calamities, and not offer a friendly hand to steer her safe into port.

Thus dispirited, I began to examine the contents of this book, the ease, beauty and elegance of the style affording me great entertainment, a strong and persuasive eloquence reviving my spirits, a profound and extensive erudition leading me into very useful knowledge. But the lively colours, in which the author has painted the miseries this kingdom groans under, the felicity enjoyed by all her neighbours, and the measures which their ingenuity, care, and vigilance have employed to advance themselves to the utmost pitch of grandeur, inspire me with such a degree of confidence, that I expect to see the monarchy raised to life again, and the labours of the author rewarded ; for as this treatise lays the foundation of our recovery, by chalking out infal-

* Nihil adeo habet homo divinum, quam bene facere.

† Non minus negotii est rempublicam emendare quam initio constituere. Lib. 4. Politicorum.

lible means to obtain it, it has such superior merit, as to deserve to be engraven in golden letters, and consecrated to eternal honour in the temple of fame. Here Spain meets with abundant cause to weep over the melancholy picture, which the author has drawn of the deplorable situation she is reduced to. Here is seen a vigilance and industry in other nations, that has undermined and defeated the wisest and most vigorous efforts of our court. Here is discovered a plain and safe path, leading us out of fatigue and misery to ease and riches: in short, Spain will find, in this work, every thing that is requisite to put her in possession of the felicity she aspires after.

When we recollect the train of blessings, which this treatise presents to us, and insures, it would be an injustice to give it the commendation, though it be a very high compliment, paid by the celebrated Pliny to another. *Nothing, I think, has appeared, for some years past, more finished upon the subject* *. The new and irresistible force of the author's persuasion, the sure and natural measures he proposes, are qualities of too high a class, barely to place it in the number of the best pieces, that have been written upon civil polity. None of them can pretend to be an original of this finished picture; since there is not to be found, in any of them, the singular instruction it affords, or the unerring provisions recommended: and a very little attention will discover, that all the measures, employed, since the first impression of it, to restore this kingdom to its former wealth and dignity, have been copies taken from thence, and that they are indebted to it for their principal value. Hence no person can ascribe to flattery, that I esteem justly due to this treatise the very high compliment, which Martial, by a licence indulged to poets, has paid to the writings of his friend Marcus:

* Aliquot annis, puto, nihil generis ejusdem absolutius scriptum.
Lib. 4. ad Falcon.

“ You ask me, Marcus, what I think of your book ;
 “ I am under admiration, I am in amaze ; nothing
 “ can be more perfect *.”

But for fear this recommendation, which really proceeds from a thorough sense of its merit, should be ascribed to favour and partiality, a short sketch of the work, setting forth, but in very rude out-lines, the principal matters it contains, will sufficiently shew what it is that distinguishes it above the rest. For what political writer has represented, so particularly, the miseries of this kingdom, its deserted provinces, its uncultivated lands, the ruinous condition of its towns, the decay of its manufactories, and an inconceivable prejudice arising from a passive commerce? Which of them has set forth, in a full and clear light, the prosperity of the neighbouring kingdoms, the vast number of their inhabitants, the extent of their manufactories, the perfection of all their fabricks, the flourishing state of their active commerce, and the amazing wealth which their people have amassed by this channel? Who has taught us their maxims of government, or laid down the plan they pursued to advance themselves to the prosperity and grandeur they have acquired? It is the duty of a politician to do all this, if he be desirous of seeing his measures take effect. The distresses of a kingdom are not under the eye of a court: it is necessary, then, to have a detail of particular grievances; for, if these be not known, or but in a general way, they do not strike feelingly; and who will be anxious to provide a remedy for evils they are not duly sensible of? Moreover, as no person ever saved himself in a shipwreck, by a sense of his danger, or a lamentation under his misfortune, without finding a seasonable plank to bear him ashore; in vain does the politician fatigue himself to heighten our sorrow, by a melancholy representation of publick evils, unless it be attended with a proposal of means, that are adequate and powerful enough to insure relief.

* Quid sentis, inquis, de nostris, Marce, libellis?
 Admiror, stupeo, nihil est perfectius illis.

All this is done by our author to admiration. He describes, at large, the gloomy train of calamities that infest the kingdom of Spain; particularises the immense sums we are annually robbed of by other nations, for their grain, fish, sugars, paper, books, glass, and an infinite number of other commodities, which they sell to us: he exposes to our view the immense loss we sustain from the ruin of forty thousand looms, that formerly flourished in three cities only, those of Seville, Granada, and Toledo, and yearly produced an amount of about forty millions of crowns, leaving the inhabitants in perfect idleness, without an inclination to earn a *real* by labour, and under an absolute necessity of buying even every thing from other nations. With how great reason then, may one address the Spaniards in the mournful language of Isaiah, (chap. i.) *Your land, strangers devour it in your presence.* Look, nobles of Spain, how your country is become the spoil of voracious foreigners in your presence, and you patiently bear it! But, lest a prospect of so much disorder should quite dispirit us, he then lays open the wretchedness which France, England, and other kingdoms, groaned under some years ago, when they lamented, as we do now, the sloth and poverty of their people, the ruin and depopulation of their towns, from the malignant influence of a passive trade; for while they sold their materials, wool and flax, to the provinces of Flanders, there was an utter disinclination in the natives to labour, and to earn their victuals or cloathing. Lastly, he displays the very happy situation they now enjoy, enumerating the wise policies, and successful measures, which their penetration and oeconomy have employed to settle, upon a solid foundation, agriculture, manufactories, and an active commerce; the only pillars, that are able to support the grandeur of kingdoms.

This is the true plan of reading lectures in politicks; to detect and expose the misfortunes of a state in a full and affecting view, and, at the same time, recommend such measures for a remedy, as frequent experience has
shewn

shewn to be effectual, and sure to succeed. There have been politicians, that were willing to have their projects received, even while they are supporting one piece of speculation with another; no easy undertaking upon any subject. *It is difficult, as Plato says*, to shew great things clearly without examples.* Extremely difficult it is, in the affairs of civil polity, where the practice of general maxims will meet with obstacles at every step, let a person be ever so attentive to the publick good, and vigilant to avoid them; for general precepts are not sufficient in politicks, when the consideration of particular circumstances does not shew them to be practicable. In this science, few are the axioms or principles that have the credit of being infallible in the execution; so that there is constantly a door open to debate and opposition, more especially when a climate abounds with such spirits as are apt to take a distaste at every thing, which is not the fruit of their own genius. This is usually the case in Spain, where, to our very great disgrace, no proposal can be offered, but it is treated with contempt, even before it be taken into consideration.

It is this which made our authors have recourse to a method of persuasion more powerful and certain, that which is supported by examples. Though reasoning has its due weight with a clear understanding, example is possessed of an extraordinary privilege. *Mankind, as Dionisius of Halicarnassus thinks †, easily learn what is their interest, and what not, when they see it explained by many examples.* Their persuasion is very powerful; for the will is ready enough to embrace an advantage, after it has been shewn by examples to be attainable. It was the grand policy of the emperor Alexander Severus, to have always, in his court, ministers that were well versed in history; and upon any particular emergence, instead of demanding their opinions, he asked ‡, *what other emperors had done under like circumstances*; and by an

* Lib. 16. De regno.

† Lib. 11.

‡ Quid in talibus causis, quales in disceptatione versabantur veteres imperatores fecissent? *Lampridius.*

application of such measures, as experience had approved, and shewn to be effectual, he succeeded in reforming the present disorders. In the school of example Solomon * learnt wisdom, and the arts of government. In the lives and actions of saints, it is the intent of heaven to teach us holiness: in like manner history, and the oeconomy of flourishing states give us a model of political administration. The united force of all the faculties of the mind, does not throw so much light into the affairs of government, as history and geography. This plan our author has pursued, and makes Spain an offer of happiness, by a representation that displays the policies and management of prosperous nations, and insures her the greatest interest in imitating their example. This is the great secret in giving counsel: this is the way to acquire wealth, to ease the subject, to make our lands fruitful, and manufactories thrive; and these will enable us to establish an active and flourishing commerce, and, along with idleness, banish poverty, and all the calamities that have persecuted Spain for so many ages. As then our people are so apt to copy what is seen, and strikes their fancy, in other countries, whether it be of a grave or humorous turn, now is presented to them a pattern, that certainly must hit their taste: it is the recovery of their ancient dignity. For once let it be resolved to imitate their maxims of government; if we form any pretensions to a share in their felicity. A few weeks, spent in a careful perusal of this work, are sufficient to furnish an impartial reader with all the measures, that are requisite to place this kingdom upon a level with, nay raise it to a dignity above the richest nations; for all their prosperity, all their success, has been owing to their attention to this plan, and a faithful execution of it. *Look that thou make them after the pattern, which was shewn thee.*†

What has been already observed of this most useful work, is, without question, sufficient to intitle it to our

* Prov. 24.

† Exod. chap. 25, 40.

applause,

applause, and the honour of being the most complete and perfect treatise upon political affairs; but I am under some doubt, whether it will be sufficient to quiet our fears, and take off our jealousy of success, in the practice of what it recommends. There will not be wanting persons to join with another poet in saying,

*Diversis diversa juvant, quod spreverit unus
Alter amat, cunctis nemo placere potest.*

Some persons will tell us, that more serene times than the present are necessary for the execution of affairs of this complexion: that our neighbours took the advantage of a confirmed peace, to establish those measures, which have made them so prosperous: that the present war demands all our attention, and diverts our thoughts from all other projects: that none of the provisions recommended in this work can be executed, without an actual diminution of the revenue, and that this cannot be allowed in the present state of affairs. Others will plead, that all policies, which are found to be of service to other nations, may not suit our constitution; that as there is a variety of climates, the genius of the inhabitants varies in like manner; and where there is such a difference in the turn and disposition of the people, there will necessarily be different maxims of government: therefore, notwithstanding other nations have raised themselves to their present grandeur, by pursuing the plan abovementioned, it is not an absolute proof that Spain will be enabled, by the same measures, to recover her former dignity. From these and other reflections, that sometimes proceed from an honest zeal for the publick, and at other times are the hateful insinuations of envy, I might dread being disappointed of the noble purposes, which this amazing performance was directed to serve, if Don Geronimo, happy in his counsels, after he had removed these and other obstacles, that have hitherto nourished our dissidence, and quite discouraged us, did not cut off all possible cavil and dispute, reducing his noble views to two measures only,

that will unquestionably effect that restoration of the monarchy, which is so desirable; measures, so sure and manifest, that the meanest capacity must needs discover the importance of them; so necessary, absolutely necessary, that it is impossible for Spain to raise herself considerably upon any other footing; and so easy to be carried into execution, that it is the want of a disposition, which can alone prevent its being done, even while there is not a possibility of its being attended with the least inconvenience, with a present or a future loss to the revenues.

It was with good reason, that *the Athenians called the government of a state, an exaction of its tributes* *. The whole success of a kingdom depends upon a wise regulation of its revenues. When taxes are not levied in the manner they ought to be, they are the ruin of the subject, a moth in the treasury, the universal lamentation of a kingdom, and the interest and joy of foreigners. But a prudent disposition of them is the soul of a state, the life of the people, glory to a prince, grief and distress to foreigners, and a perpetual fountain of the richest blessings to human life. How clearly does our author shew this truth, in the instances of France and Great Britain, who, but two hundred years ago, lay dejected and groveling under the same wretchedness, which Spain laments at this time! I have already intimated, that all their materials, wool and flax, passed over to Flanders, and enriched those provinces, and that this dispeopled their own countries, and spread an universal poverty for want of employment, or means to earn a livelihood; and in order to banish idleness and poverty, to insure plenty, riches, and numerous inhabitants, and maintain themselves in the possession of them to this very day, as if they had nailed down the wheel of fortune, what were the means which their governors availed themselves of? But one single measure; they put the revenue of their custom houses, as well in the

* Rhodig. lib. 7. cap. 9.

sea-ports, as upon the frontier, under a prudent regulation, prevented by absolute prohibitions, or discouraged by very high duties, the importation of all foreign manufactures, and the exportation of their own materials, and at the same time encouraged by an indulgence in the duties the exportation of their own manufactures, and the importation of foreign materials, in the manner our author has fully set forth in this treatise. These nations discovered, though somewhat late, how much it behoves every individual, how much it is the interest of a community to practise that excellent maxim of Cato, * which no person should ever lose sight of, *that the master of a family ought to be a seller, and not a buyer.* All the comforts of the head of a family, all the wealth of a city, all the grandeur of a kingdom, depends solely upon selling much, and buying little; or upon selling more than is bought. He that is constantly buying more than he sells, let him be a second Croesus in treasure, must at length be reduced to the unhappy state of a beggar; for his stock is diminished in proportion to the overbalance of goods bought in. But whoever is constantly selling more than he buys, let him be poor as Lazarus, must by such a transaction, acquire the happy circumstances of the rich; for, as much as the balance is in favour of the amount of sales, just so much is added to his capital. Thus reason evinces the truth of it, and we have a sure confirmation in the care and vigilance of the neighbouring nations, to make provision for selling much and buying little. It is upon this principle, they discourage the importation of all foreign goods into their country, but leave their gates wide open to let their own manufactures go abroad, and bring in riches from every quarter.

This is the sure, easy and fundamental provision for the introduction of riches and happiness into a kingdom; This is what has enabled our neighbours to amass so much wealth; and it is the first of the two measures, which our author has proposed in order to make Spain

* Patrem familias vendacem, non emacem, esse oportet.

happy. In the main, it is but a reform of the customs, which, by discouraging the importation of foreign manufactures, that drain us of our silver, and the exportation of our own materials, that find work for the people, and leave us the profits, will facilitate the exportation of our own goods, and the importation of such materials, as may serve to enlarge and perfect our own manufactories. An imposition of heavy customs discourages both the introduction of commodities wrought up, and the exportation of materials, that might be manufactured. An indulgence in the same customs facilitates both the introduction of such foreign materials, as serve to extend and perfect our own fabricks, and the exportation of those fabricks, upon which depend the increase of our manufactories, and the gains of the subject.

If the felicity of kingdoms is dependant, as it certainly is, upon a strict obedience to a maxim, that calls upon them to sell more than they buy, there is no doubt but the foregoing disposition of the customs is of great importance. It discourages the importation of goods manufactured, and the exportation of materials, that should be manufactured, and consequently the purchase of the former, and the sale of the latter. But till such a reform be made, it cannot be thought, that all the laws in the world are availing enough to prevent our purchase of foreign goods. So long as other nations, too much favoured in the duties of entry, and in destructive indulgences fraudulently obtained, import their goods at a small charge into our country, there will be a readier market for them, than for Spanish commodities. For who is there, that will not prefer the purchase of them? Who is so bad a husband of his money, as to buy a commodity at a high price, when he can meet with another equally good, at a cheaper rate? Hence our mechanicks, that have no vent for their goods, instead of enlarging their fabricks, must necessarily abandon the few that are on foot. Let Spain duly consider, that till her own goods can be bought as cheap

cheap or cheaper than those of foreigners, she must buy more than she sells, and the recovery of her manufactories will be utterly impracticable. There may be persons to undertake a restoration of them, but the thing can never be compassed. Every fresh attempt will meet with the same fate, as all our new fabricks for twenty years past have done, and find a grave in its very cradle. These scarce began to live, when they felt themselves expiring in the arms of an ill-governed custom-house.

The disposition of our customs is so averse to all reason, that were it less notorious, it could not be believed, that so wise a nation should approve, or tolerate for many ages a conduct no less destructive to her own interest, than indulgent to foreigners. The first absurdity is, a higher charge upon natives than foreigners. All over the world, *a foreign custom-house, and a double custom-house* mean the same thing; for the duties of entry, both outwards and inwards, are every where charged double, or at least higher upon foreigners; and it is with an intent to reduce their profits by this advance, as it is to improve the gains of the subject by the contrary indulgence. It is in Spain alone, that the sense of this maxim is inverted. In Spain, it is not the foreign, but the national custom-house, that is double; it is not the national, but the foreign custom-house, that is single; since foreigners pay not half so much as the natives. Can there be a higher disgrace? Is it possible, that strangers possess greater privileges in Spain, than the natives themselves? As then the duties paid by Spaniards are double, how can they ever raise a foreign commerce? And how considerable must have been the interest made by foreigners, even in our coasting trade? The perpetual war Spain has with the Moors, increases the risk as well as charge of navigating, because Spanish vessels are obliged for their defence to carry more hands; and if there be an additional load of double customs in the ports, both outwards and inwards, let it be considered, whether

whether there be a possibility for our navigation to flourish under such circumstances.

The second absurdity, is charging higher duties upon goods exported, than upon goods imported. With great reason does our author lament this capital mistake, which the Spaniards live under, revering, as an oracle, the maxim of loading with heavy imposts all their exports, and laying small duties upon their imports. I know not, whether we are to attribute the continuance of this insufferable error, to a cheat put upon the profound wisdom of our illustrious politician Don Diego de Saveredra, who, dazzled sometimes with the flashes of light, darting into his bright understanding, pronounced, in his 67th essay, the following maxim. *No taxes are less injurious to kingdoms, than those which are laid in ports upon merchandise sent abroad, because foreigners pay most part of them. Upon this principle, the royal revenues of England, are with great prudence raised there, and the inland parts of the kingdom left free from all impositions.* I acknowledge, that the great wisdom of this illustrious politician, known and revered from his celebrated writings by all Europe, is very justly intitled to all our esteem; but it would be criminal to be willing to follow him in an opinion, which opposes the clearest lights of truth. If he would say, that no taxes are less oppressive to kingdoms than those, that are imposed in port upon the merchandise brought in, reason will readily acquiesce in it, since far from being detrimental to a country, it produces inconceivable advantages, because it increases the revenue, and facilitates the vent of its own merchandise, and enlarges the manufactories. But to advise high taxes upon merchandise exported, is rendering it impossible to dispose of it. If our goods are made very dear to foreigners, what temptation can they have to buy them? Were Spain the only country, that yielded the fruits, which other nations are in want of, they would then be obliged to come and buy them of us, whatever price we please to set upon them; but we are not the only venders. There

are other countries, that have them in plenty, and want to dispose of them. Therefore, making ours dear, is frightening away the buyers, and obliging them to go to another market, and makes it impossible for us to dispose of our fruits and goods, robbing the kingdom of large sums, it would otherwise receive upon the sale of salt, oyl, wines, brandies, &c. and the door is also shut, that we must never see the happy day, when we shall sell them our woven and other manufactures. Let then our author be attended to, who by clear reasoning and numerous examples demonstrates, that the principal foundation of the felicity of a kingdom, is imposing the highest duties, that are practicable, upon all materials, serviceable to the manufactories, exported; not forgetting the interest we have in very low duties upon the exportation of all our own merchandise, and the importation of materials to be wrought up in our own fabricks, as it is practised in England.

The easy execution of this measure, is a great recommendation to it. Nothing more is requisite than to understand clearly, and practice the rule, which our author prescribes for this reform. It is the prerogative of a sovereign to dispose his customs and other duties in the shape, that appears most for the interest of his kingdom. There is no article in treaties, that can be an obstruction to it, at least while he pursues the same plan, which the other contracting parties do in their custom-houses; and if we but imitate them in the execution of these duties, it is more than enough for our prosperity. But in case it be not thought seasonable to proceed so far, as were to be wished; if we do what prudence must warrant, it will be very much to our advantage; for we shall not only discourage that buying and selling, which is injurious, and has been the source of our misfortunes, but by this means increase also the royal treasury. For as the commerce, we really have, principally consists of the sale of materials, and the purchase of manufactures, as soon as we advance the duties upon the exportation of the one, and upon the importation of the other, the revenue

revenue will be also advanced ; for this rise of duties cannot restrain us at present, either from the sale of materials, or the purchase of manufactures, for as we have not fabricks sufficient to work up the former, or to supply us with the latter, we must have recourse to other nations for the sale of the one, and the purchase of the other. And when the happy day shall come, that we experience a decay in this revenue, by a revival of our own manufactories, the improvement, that must arise in the duties of the Alcavalas, Millones, and other branches of the revenue, will be far more than an equivalent to replace that deficiency, as our author demonstrates in the course of this work.

That this measure may produce all the favourable effects it promises, we should attend to the information given by our author in the 24th and other chapters, in respect to the wise provisions employed by foreigners to extirpate the smugglers ; for so long as these people subsist, it is not easy to obtain the happy consequences of this regulation. But severity towards them, and great care in the administrators of the revenue, to have diligent search made into all package brought into the kingdom, in order to charge the duties ad valorem, and allowing no foreigners to import any commodity, that is not the growth or produce of their own dominions, as it is stipulated by treaties of peace, together with several other provisions, that may be made, and calculated to discourage such buying, as is detrimental, will certainly reduce the importation of their goods, and augment the sale of our own.

This very reform of the customs in France, England, and other parts, was alone able to dissipate calamities equal to those we suffer ; and it will be sufficient alone, to make Spain happy, in case it be thought adviseable to imitate that famous tarif, which the great soul of Lewis XIV. projected. This glorious monarch ordered by it, that Dutch and Segovian cloths, imported into his kingdom, should be charged fifty per cent ; and as this wise provision was not availing enough to banish

them wholly, he published another edict, charging them sixty-five per cent. as may be seen in this work, which will inform us of this and some other secret transactions, that may be instrumental in the regulation of our own conduct. Nor is it to be questioned, but after Spain has settled a like tarif, that we shall soon leave off buying foreign goods, and that manufactories and an active trade will flourish with us; since foreigners will not be able to sell so cheap as we ourselves. But as forming this tarif will very naturally meet with great opposition, it is not to be expected, that a reform of the customs will be alone sufficient to recover our wealth, though it may have had the same effect in other nations. In our country there are several clogs, which our neighbours are strangers to, and which are obstructions to our prosperity. These are principally in the provincial revenues of the Alcavalas and Cientos; a species of tax, that is not found, as our author assures us, in the neighbouring kingdoms, and is the ruin of the manufactories and active commerce of Spain. It is true, that a regulation of the customs in the shape proposed, discourages the importation of goods; but till it be thought advisable to make an absolute prohibition of them, or to impose excessive duties upon them, they will always find a reception among us, by an advantage they will have of ours.

Very heavy are the loads upon our fabricks, while they are light upon those of foreigners. In Spain wages run very high, and must still do it, while the price of provisions necessary for the support of life is kept up. Our manufacturers pay an Alcavala and Cientos upon the first sale, which is never less than ten per cent; it costs them much more than it does foreigners to maintain their families, and purchase oyl, dying materials, and other things necessary in their business. The case is quite the reverse in other countries. Wages are lower, on account of the cheapness of all the necessaries of life. It is only when they come to Spain, that they know what Alcavalas and Cientos are, there being no such

such impost in their own countries. They have a tax upon flesh meat, and other necessary provisions, equivalent to our Millones, which is extremely moderate. Their ingenuity has struck out various contrivances, to enable one of their workmen with no greater fatigue, to do as much as three of ours, in the same fabrick. Duties, upon woven and other goods sent abroad, seldom amount to two per cent. so that they can very well afford to sell them five and twenty or thirty per cent. cheaper than we can ours. On this footing, an advance of ten per cent. upon their imposts, is not enough to discourage their sale in Spain. Moreover, a reform of the customs, can never be sufficient for our attainment of an active trade to America; for let the duties be ever so high upon imports, and ever so low upon exports, in order to facilitate the extraction of our own goods, who will ever ship them, while they are five and twenty, or thirty per cent. dearer than the foreign? As other nations will offer them at lower rates, they will always find a preference on board our ships; and though it be ordered, that the flotas and galeons shall ship only Spanish manufactures, it would be difficult to obtain a market for them in the Indies, as foreigners will be constantly carrying on an illicit commerce there, invited to it by the readiness of the inhabitants, to receive their goods upon account of an advantage in the price. These and other reflections, oblige us to acknowledge, that this first measure stands in need of the support of another, in order to give prosperity to the kingdom of Spain.

This second measure, which our author recommends, reduces itself to a total extinction of the Alcabalas and Cientos at the first hand, or the first sale made by the manufacturer of all woven goods of wool, silk, flax, and other commodities, such as paper, glass, crystals, &c. and there is no question but this provision, and the advanced duties upon foreign imports, will enable us to sell our goods cheaper, or as cheap as they do theirs; and thus they will be sure of a consumption, not only
in

in this peninsula, but also in America, as by this means we open a way for the restoration of our manufactories, and to employ usefully in these works an infinite number of lazy fellows, that infest our streets, as well as poor beggars, that excite our pity and compassion at every step. Every person will acknowledge the importance and interest we have in this measure; nor can any doubt of its being carried into execution with the greatest ease, and that it is an apprehension of its being a great detriment to the treasury, which can alone delay it; and therefore, it will be reasonable to consider fully the weight of this objection. How great then will this loss be to the revenue, which is so dreaded? If the whole amount of the Alcavalas and Cientos upon goods sold at the first, second, and all subsequent sales, does not come to six millions of crowns, including even a large sum raised by the Millones, what can the Alcavalas and Cientos, upon these woven and other commodities amount to upon the first sale only? Let it be considered, how small the number of our fabricks is, and the inconsiderable amount will be seen very clearly. Besides, the treasury will not even suffer this trifling diminution, as our author demonstrates; for an increase, that must ensue in the Millones and other branches of the revenue, by the great encouragement dispensed to the subject, enabling them to make gains by their labour, for the better maintaining and cloathing themselves, will certainly be an over balance to so small a reduction. But suppose this palpable demonstration should not have force enough to quiet the minds of such, as are scrupulous in preserving the revenue untouched, there is still an obvious refuge in many other provisions. I shall mention but one instance; it is, that the Alcavalas and Cientos (which amount to fourteen per cent.) be charged entire at the second, and all future sales, as well upon the foreign, as our own commodities. By this step, the supposed disadvantage to the treasury, from a total annihilation of the Alcavalas and Cientos, upon the first sale of our manufactures, would

would be fully replaced, and without any new load upon the subject, since the Alcavalas, that have been hitherto charged at the first and second sale, amount to more than the Alcavalas and Cientos paid entire upon the second sale can do ; at least my narrow apprehension is not able to devise the least shadow of an inconvenience, in the practice of this most interesting measure.

And if the goodness of heaven should dispose us so far, as to add to these two admirable measures, a third, I mean, a reform of the duty of the Millones, oh ! what day could be so happy for our Spain ! An extinction of it is not asked, but barely a regulation more favourable to the subject, without injuring the revenue one shilling. The excessive prices of flesh-meat and oyl has enervated, and made numbers ready to famish with hunger ; I do not know, whether it has not also been instrumental in filling our graves with dead ; for a scanty provision shortens the term of life. It is also the reason why marriage is looked upon with horror, as it increases the difficulty of supporting life ; it robs the poor of lights to enable them to work in the evening ; and as there is a great consumption of oyl in the loom, it makes woven goods very dear. So that this impost strikes at the root, or support of human life, which, as wisdom teaches us, * *consists of food and cloathing*. Abolish but the taxes upon these two articles, flesh-meat and oyl, and these evils will undoubtedly vanish ; and that the treasury may sustain no detriment, let them be replaced by an equivalent upon wines, brandies, vinegar, and other liquors, the use of which, even where they are not hurtful, is but little necessary for the support of mankind ; and as drinking them to the injury of health is so general, the consumption, instead of being reduced by an advanced price of them, will find an increase ; for the improved circumstances of the poor, from the gains, which this opportunity of being employed in all sorts of manufactures must yield them, will be a new incentive, and

* Eccles. 39.

cause a greater consumption of these liquors; and therefore there cannot be the least doubt of indemnifying the treasury. Besides, it is easy to make up any deficiency, that may be experienced, by charging an equivalent upon stamp paper, or some other article less necessary to human life.

Lastly, to give a full proof of the inexpressible interest we have in the execution of these measures, which we owe to the zeal, industry and wisdom of Don Gerónimo, I am willing to make a supposition, which has been already more than sufficiently proved to be groundless. Suppose then, that by carrying these three measures into execution, there should really be an annual loss to the treasury, of three or four millions of crowns. I ask, will the treasury be really diminished, ~~or~~ ~~less~~ able to support the same charges it does at present? I answer, no. This seeming paradox admits of being cleared up, and in reality, it is an undeniable truth. It is certain, by taking off the duty of the Millones upon flesh-meat and oyl, and abolishing the impost of the Alcavala and Cientos upon the first sale of manufactures, there will be a remarkable reduction of the price of provisions, that are most necessary, as also of labour, and other things, that are of more immediate service to mankind; families may then be maintained upon a less income, and enjoy all the same conveniencies they do at present, for there can be no doubt, but a less substance will suffice, when the prices of such things as are most necessary for the support of life, are reduced lower. And then what inconvenience can there be in proportionably diminishing the pay of the troops and seamen, the salaries of officers and others, and the pay of a vast number of guards and other charges, which the crown supports? No person can complain of this abatement, if at the same time measures be taken to lower the price of provisions and other things; so that these measures once established, the reduction may take place without any inconvenience; and let it be ever so small, it will not fail

fail of being an equivalent to three or four millions of crowns, which the treasury would otherwise be deficient, and by this means it can bear the same charges it does at present.

Let then every impartial mind, thoroughly weigh the force of this reasoning, and it will be obliged to look upon this work with admiration, and value it, as a fountain of happiness to Spain. If the *patriarch Jacob* promised *the Lord* to acknowledge him *for his God, if he would give him bread to eat, and raiment to put on,** this kingdom ought with the utmost gratitude, to acknowledge the generous labours of this illustrious gentleman, who by the help of three measures only, and which are very easy to accomplish, assures it plenty of provisions and cloathing at reasonable prices, a recovery of its ruined towns, the re-peopling of its deserted provinces, a removal of the distresses that are inseparable from bad management, and the possession of large sums from other nations; since its delightful territory, productive of every thing, that Spain stands in need of, and other kingdoms want, in order to draw treasure from abroad, waits for nothing but to see the Alcavalas and Cientos upon the first sale of manufactures taken off, the Millones upon flesh-meat and oyl abolished, and a regulation of the custom-house duties. It would be weakness to doubt of a good issue, very great negligence to fail in the execution, and cowardise to fear danger, where so plain a path is chalked out to lead this kingdom to its highest prosperity, without the least detriment to the revenue. So that a restoration of the whole monarchy demands only a proper resolution; for though it may require time, and great reflection, to make the necessary disposition in the custom-houses, the other provisions may be instantly employed, and will be sufficient to encourage the whole kingdom, to set about a vigorous reform of the irregularities introduced into the customs.

* Genesis 28.

Nor will it be reasonable to delay the execution of these provisions, from the hope of seeing some time or other established, a capitation tax, or the Catastro so much desired. That indeed, would be attended with very happy effects, as it would cut off at one stroke all the abuses and oppressions suffered by the subject in the exaction of the taxes; without any benefit to the treasury; but its operation is very slow; many years are necessary for such an establishment, and there would not fail of starting up difficulties that would much retard the measures, that might be pursued in this respect. The great misfortunes of the kingdom cry out for a more speedy relief; and it can only be attained in the way Don Geronimo proposes, while its taking place would not in the least obstruct our thinking of a Catastro at a reasonable time.

When I reflect, that Spain has taken no vigorous resolutions to pursue this plain and safe path, which unquestionably leads to her highest dignity, I can do no less, than attribute it to the little knowledge there has been of this important book, because the copies of its first impression were intrusted only with friends; so that the care of the Marquis of Uztariz, in republishing this inestimable treasure, which was in danger of being buried in oblivion, merits the acknowledgment of all true Spaniards; and the license, he solicits for, ought to be given him out of gratitude, as there is not any thing in the work, which is not very conducive to the improvement of christian manners, and to the humbling of the power and pride of heresy. These are my sentiments, saying, &c. The imperial college of the society of Jesus.

August 21, 1742.

Joachin de Villareal.

T H E

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THE
THEORY and PRACTICE
OF
Commerce and Maritime Affairs.

C H A P. I.

General reflections upon the causes of a decay in that sort of commerce which is advantageous to Spain, and the natural means to re-establish, improve, and preserve it.

AS no man of common understanding can be a stranger to the importance of commerce, it would be an idle thing to swell this treatise with the debate and illustration of so clear a point ; especially as many writers, and eminent politicians of Spain, as well as other countries, have already done it. I shall therefore confine myself to an inquiry into the causes of its decay, and annihilation in this monarchy ; and to suggest such means, as are just, practicable, and conducive to the recovery, improvement, and preservation of it, after I have pointed out the prudent measures, which foreigners employ with success, to render it flourishing and permanent, in their own states.

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B

Though

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Though it be usually sufficient, in the important concerns of civil government or private œconomy, to detect the causes of any damage we sustain; as by a removal of these, the evil itself ceases, and is effectually prevented; yet I have thought proper to take a larger scope, to search into, ascertain, and lay down the principles and measures, of which we may avail ourselves, and secure the blessings we stand so much in need of. And I have done this, both with a view of enabling us, out of a variety of provisions to chuse such as will be most just, effectual, and adequate to the thing aimed at; and also to determine the proper season, and the manner of carrying them into execution, which are sometimes of no less moment than the thing itself.

It is notorious, that without an extensive and profitable commerce, one cannot find, either in monarchies, kingdoms or republics, a country well peopled, plenty, or splendor; armies, fleets or fortresses, to protect and render us considerable: nor can an extensive and profitable commerce subsist, without the concurrence of many good manufactories, of silk and wool in particular: nor can such manufactories be set on foot, and preserved, unless favoured by indulgencies and exemptions from the duties, at least, upon some of the eatables consumed by the working hands, and the materials employed in woven and other commodities, as well as in the sale of them. To all these we are to add, a well adjusted book of rates for the duties upon exports and imports. And unless there be these prudent regulations, we shall not experience the necessary vent at home and abroad.

And

And whenever the consumption fails, it is a clear case, that there will ensue certain ruin to the manufactories; and it is confirmed by experience every where. Therefore, as I am to discover and determine the main spring of the measures, which are to remove the inconveniencies, that bear so hard upon us, and secure to ourselves the advantages above mentioned, I must of necessity begin with inquiring into, and stating the particular indulgences, and proportionable abatements in the duties, especially in that excessive and repeated one of the Alcavalas and Cientos, and with reforming the customs upon exports and imports; and then proceed to the other encouragements and provisions, that shall appear to contribute towards the advancement, perfection and sale of the manufactures. Nor shall it be in general rules, such as the books of states-men are full of, and laid down at ease, but can hardly be put in practice with a prospect of success; for I intend, as far as the compass of my work will give me leave, to specify particular provisions for every one of the evils we labour under; and all along give due attention to the nature, quality, condition, and other circumstances of this political body, that wants relief in its distress; for otherwise it would be only discovering infirmities, without affording seasonable and practicable remedies for the cure of them, being sensible, that the excessive taxes paid by the maker and vender, and the customs at exportation, is the true reason that our fabricks are raised to an extraordinary price: of which it is a certain consequence, that as they are dearer than those of other countries, there is little or no vent for them, either at home or abroad; it being natural for people,

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in such a case, either out of interest or saving, to prefer those of other nations. Whence ensues the ruin of our own manufactures, and the advancement of the foreign; and this is either owing to our inadvertence, or want of zeal in these matters of importance.

C H A P. II.

*Commerce is divided into profitable, and injurious.
Injurious commerce explained.*

BEFORE I pass to the consideration of the measures proposed, their foundation, and the facts, on which I am in hopes of establishing them, I think proper to explain the two parts or qualities, into which commerce is divided and distinguished. For there is a profitable commerce, and an injurious commerce.

As commerce principally depends upon the purchase, sale or barter of woven goods, fruits, &c. and an easy vent for them by sea and land, both at home and abroad, it is evident, that such a commerce has always subsisted in Spain. For there has never been wanting a market for their commodities and fruits, and an easy introduction of them abroad, as well by the hands of natives themselves, as foreigners. But in the shape it has hitherto appeared, it has been so injurious to the monarchy, as to enervate, impoverish, and dispeople it. A fact so notorious, that other nations publish it in their own books, particularly in one, that is intitled, *The commerce of Holland*. The author's name is suppressed*, but he is thought to be a minister

* The title at large is, *Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois, dans tous les états, et empires du monde*. 8vo. and has passed through several editions.

of France, of great understanding and public spirit; and in the year 1717, Don Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche, a member of the council of the Indies, translated it into Spanish, out of an equal love to his country, and for the general information and benefit of these kingdoms; in which they say,

“ The principal commerce of Holland, with
 “ Spain, is carried on at Cadiz, and in the Medi-
 “ terranean. It is from this famous port, whence
 “ go out, and whither return the galleons, that
 “ carry on the grand commerce of Peru; and the
 “ flotas, that come from Mexico, or New Spain,
 “ which have brought, and are still bringing, al-
 “ most all the gold and silver, that is seen in Eu-
 “ rope. However, one may say with truth, that
 “ though the Spaniards be lords of the provinces, ✕✕
 “ where gold and silver are found in great plenty,
 “ they themselves have a much less share of both,
 “ than other nations; a convincing proof that
 “ mines of gold avail not so much as commerce
 “ to enrich a state*.

Speaking more plain in another part of the same book, they say,

“ To give a convincing proof that commerce
 “ is the only thing, that can enrich a state, it will
 “ be enough to observe, that there is no nation so
 “ destitute of gold and silver as Spain, even while
 “ both these metals are found in great abundance
 “ within their own dominions. For other nations are
 “ notwithstanding much better supplied with both,
 “ from the great consumption their merchandize
 “ meets with in Spain, and her dependant king-
 “ doms. In short, this great monarchy seems to

* Page 97.

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“ have fallen merely from their having neglected
 “ commerce, and the establishment of manufac-
 “ tories, throughout the vast extent of its domi-
 “ nions. This indolence has been the foundation
 “ of the wealth, which France at this time pos-
 “ sesses; for, * by our trading with the Spa-
 “ niards, we have never been in want of silver or
 “ gold, even in the longest and most expensive
 “ wars†.

In another passage of the same book, they confirm this opinion, and establish the fact, telling us, that,

“ Commerce, is the only thing, that can draw
 “ gold and silver, the main springs of action, into
 “ any state. And it is so glaring a truth, that Spain,
 “ in whose dominions these are found in plenty, is
 “ in great want of both, from their having slight-
 “ ed traffick and manufactories; and all the mines
 “ of America are scarce sufficient to pay for the
 “ merchandise and commodities, which other na-
 “ tions of Europe carry to Spain‡.”

Notwithstanding the bare mention, and experience of our having for many years carried on a destructive trade with other nations, seem alone sufficient to lead us up to the cause of this misfortune, for the sake of those, who may still be in doubt, I shall say, that we principally suffer by having bought of foreigners more merchandise and fruits, than we have sold them, so as to make a ballance to our disadvantage of millions of dollars yearly. For the amount of woven goods and other merchandise, brought in from abroad, far exceeds what is exported. Nor can it afford any consolation; it rather aggravates the calamity, that the customs have improved and yielded more by the

* He speaks of the French. † Pref. page 10. ‡ Page 17.

increase of imports, since it is so unlucky a circumstance for us, that in order to advance them a million of dollars, estimating one duty with another, at the rate of 8 per cent. after an allowance for frauds and indulgences, there must be drawn out of the kingdom above 12 millions of dollars. And though some commodities, of the produce of Spain, and the Indies, may be exported, far the greatest part of these consists in wool, raw silk, cochinille, indigo, sofa, barilla, iron, and several other materials, where again we unhappily furnish them with new weapons for our destruction, as will be seen hereafter; and it would be better, they were not exported at all. Moreover, as their value, together with that of the fruits they fetch from hence, is far from being a ballance in trade, it is necessary and unavoidable, that the considerable amount of the difference be made up by drawing out our gold and silver, as it is done every day, leaving us without substance or power for the necessary redress of injuries, or self-defence. From which considerations it is inferred, that neither the increase of the treasury, nor the interest of the public depends upon the customs producing annually a hundred or two hundred thousand pistoles more, but upon modelling this revenue by a book of rates, and other provisions more favourable to the profitable commerce of these kingdoms, and in particular to the increase and preservation of the manufactories, which can never raise their head, so long as they are thus heavily loaded with taxes, and by that means the importation and consumption of many foreign commodities are encouraged; as they are no less so by the excessive abatement of the duties*, and

* The author means to foreigners.

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frequent frauds, that happen in our days, but most of all at Cadiz. For it is an infallible maxim, that the more our importation of foreign merchandise shall exceed the exportation of our own, so much more unavoidable will be our misery and ruin at last, and the damages such a traffick usually brings upon a whole kingdom are even greater than any that have been felt from the most devouring locusts. Other nations, France, England and Holland in particular, have constantly these great disadvantages in their eye, and to prevent their fatal consequences employ that wise and prudent measure of raising the duties upon foreign commodities, imported into their country, as much, and sometimes more than treaties of peace allow of, never consenting to any abatement or indulgence whatever; while at the same time they give leave to export their own woven and other manufactures, requiring only a moderate duty, and letting some sorts go out entirely free. This point I shall prove more at large in other chapters, and here only produce the few examples that follow.

By the tariff which Lewis XIV. assisted by the great penetration, and skill of his vigilant minister John Baptist Colbert, published in the years 1664, and 1667, all foreign cloths, imported into France, paid a duty of above 25 per cent. while those manufactured in his own kingdom were allowed to go abroad, paying only one per cent. and other commodities were exported free of all duty. This appears from the edicts above-mentioned, and other ordinances; and I may add, that to encourage the manufactories of that large and plentiful province of Languedoc, the government of France settled a premium of a doblon, to be given

*fishing vessels for
Languedoc or France
for the purpose of
the fishery. If
large as to produce
Indulgence*

given to the masters, for every piece of fine cloth measuring 30 French yards, that they should manufacture, and send abroad.

In regard to materials, they observe a rule so contrary, (but equally advantageous) that they impose heavy duties upon the exportation of them, and sometimes prohibit it entirely, under rigorous penalties, as they do in England with their wool, that their own country may reap the benefit of that large gain which arises from working it up. But, they lay very small duties, often none at all, upon the importation of materials, which they are in want of, especially for their manufactures. This is practised in Holland, in respect of Spanish wool, which is imported free, as appears from their own tariff, published at Amsterdam, in the year 1710; for so dextrous are they, and attentive to the general interest of the state, that they have constantly in their eye, and gather the fruits of a piece of experience; that this is a mine more fruitful of gain, riches, and plenty, than those of Potosi; since by working up into cloth, a certain portion of wool, that lies them in a doblon, they produce from it, the amount of five doblons: for they calculate that in a yard of fine cloth, the wool, it is made of, amounts to a fifth of its value; and the rest is labour, dying and other expences. So that there remains, as it were, to the manufacturer an interest of four fifths, and a million of money in materials, he can improve to the value of five millions. And this shews, how expedient it is to encourage manufactures, in order to trade, in a great measure at least, without our own commodities.

C H A P. III.

Arguments and authorities to shew the thousands of millions, that have been extracted out of these kingdoms, in gold and silver, from the first discovery of America; a greater proof how injurious that commerce is to ourselves, which we carry on with the other nations of Europe.

FROM the great difference there is then between what we sell, and what we buy of foreigners, and other principles, that are very obvious, it is capable of proof, that every year, one with another, there has gone out of Spain, to the amount of more than fifteen millions of dollars, in gold and silver. And should any person doubt it, he may be asked, what has become of, or whither have gone the thousands of millions of dollars, that from the discovery of the Indies, have been transported to the continent of Spain, where there now remains little more than some copper or brass money, that goes current for more than its value, and is attended with a great expence in remitting, and a real loss in traffick; a small portion of reals, and half reals of silver, worn or clipped, and the small double reals, and sencillos of the new coinage, which are called provincial, and are about twenty-five per cent below standard? And no doubt it is owing to these defects, that we have preserved this scanty portion of money in Spain, and that something is left us, to pay the royal duties, and trade with one another, without there being any at all for traffic in many places; if one can really look upon the pieces of coin above mentioned, as an advantage, and in our present circum-

cumstances, not rather dread with good reason, their being turned against us, and serving as a means to render the extraction more easy; for at a very small expence, and pains of exchanging the defective pieces for those of full weight, and better alloy, they may be able to drain us of the few, that have been left of the latter sort, as well as those, that from time to time come from America. And this is, in my opinion, a matter that demands a very serious reflection, as well as a provision powerful enough to guard against the pernicious consequences, that must naturally befall these kingdoms from the plunder of their money; a calamity so much more sensible, as in proportion to the drawing away of the money, their strength will be impaired, and that of the enemies of the monarchy, amongst whom it is distributed, increased; nay, it even extends to that of the Turks, and other infidels, who are implacable enemies to our holy faith, as shall be shewn more at large, in another place.

To give a clear proof of the great extraction of gold and silver from Spain, that has been advanced, I shall here introduce, what certain authors of great credit, have wrote upon this subject.

The learned Don Sancho de Moncada, professor of divinity at Alcalà, says, in the year 1619, disc. 3. chap. 1. That 24 years ago, it had been represented to his majesty, that in the space of 103 years, from 1492, in which year a discovery of the west Indies was made, to 1595, there had been brought into Spain, from the Indies alone, two thousand millions of dollars, in silver and gold, which was about 20 millions yearly; and that it was thought there had come,

at least, an equal sum unregistred; and that out of so many millions, it would be difficult to find in Spain two hundred millions, one hundred in specie, and the other in silver and gold manufactured. And if an estimate be made, from the year 1595 above mentioned, to the present time 1724, which is an hundred and twenty nine years, at the rate only of twelve millions per ann. it amounts to 1536 millions *, which two sums added together, make 3536 millions of dollars.

Don Pedro Fernandez de Navarrete, in his preservation of monarchies, disc. 21. says, That without reckoning the money there was in Spain, or what had been drawn from the mines of Guadalcanal, there was brought thither registred from the Indies, 1536 millions, from the year 1519 to 1617, which for the 98 years comprehended within this space, is above 15 millions yearly; and if we calculate for the 107 years, from 1617, the date above mentioned, to the present year 1724, and for the 27 years from 1492, when the Indies were first discovered, to 1519, where Navarrete begins his account, at the rate of 12 millions yearly, it will amount to 1596 millions †, and both sums added together, give 3132 millions; which with the addition of what there was in Spain before, and the large sums that have been also brought from the Indies unregistred, the whole will exceed five thousand millions of dollars in gold and silver, taking it even at the lowest estimate, which is what Navarrete makes it. And, methinks, his suppositions in general, whether ancient or modern, are too low to merit a reduction,

* The author calculates only for 128 years, which exactly produces 1536 millions, at 12 millions per ann.

† Our author calculates only for 107 years, and 26 years.

and

and should rather be enlarged ; if one may be allowed to judge, from what has been seen to arrive at Cadiz, in our times, especially for the last ten or twelve years, notwithstanding the obstruction of wars, and the tedious delays of the galleons from the Terra Firma ; since in the course of 15 or 16 years, there has been only one that has happily arrived.

Let there be now made an estimate of the silver and gold, which is in Spain, as well in coin as plate, and I am convinced that they, who calculate most slightly, will not make it amount to a hundred millions, taking in even the plate belonging to churches, and private families : so that it is a clear consequence, that all the rest has been drawn out, and the annual extraction above 20 millions of dollars in gold and silver, in the compass of 232 years, from 1492 to 1724. So that in the beginning of this chapter, I fell short, when I estimated the annual extraction at 15 millions : that by taking a medium between the two extremes, to which, for the sake of accuracy, a prudent judgment always inclines, I am not so much to apprehend censure for moderation, as disgrace from an exaggeration, that easily runs into hyperbole.

To this scarcity of gold and silver, which the monarchy suffers, notwithstanding its mines of each sort, a drain also of millions, that every year pass to Rome, very much contributes ; and a considerable share of it is owing to the abuses, that in the opinion of the generality, have crept into the court of indulgences. But as it is a subject above the reach of my narrow genius, and foreign to my profession, I shall not stay to give the particular
incon-

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inconveniences, or to set forth the precautions, which other catholic kingdoms and states have taken to relieve themselves, under like grievances. And did there not unite in me these two disqualifications, I might be excused from enlarging upon this head, as I have only to annex the substance of the remonstrances, that are printed in Spain, and by the command, and in the name of our sovereign lord Philip IV. were made to his holiness at Rome, in the year 1633, by his majesty's embassadors, the bishop of Cordova, and Don Juan Chumacero, member of the council and chamber of Castile; and which include a memorial, the deputies of Castile assembled in council had put into the hands of his majesty, in regard to the oppressions they had sustained from the court of Rome; and the whole complaint is founded upon the decrees of councils, and the holy canons, a punctual observation of which they solicited for.

C H A P. IV.

Profitable commerce; and what is the general rule for the establishment and preservation of it.

FROM a view of all these facts, it is out of dispute, that the commerce, we have many years carried on with other nations, has been very injurious to this monarchy; and the cause, whence our damage has arisen in the same commerce, has been also pointed out. So that it will be easy to conceive, that in order to promote our own interest, and possess the great and happy consequences, which have been mentioned, and we are invited to, and enabled to obtain from the great plenty, and superior quality of our materials and fruits,

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we ought to labour with zeal and address, in all those measures, that can avail towards selling more commodities and fruits to foreigners, than we buy of them, for here lies all the secret, good conduct, and advantage of trade; or at least, that we be upon a par in the barter of commodities, which might be even sufficient for the constitution of this kingdom. For by virtue of it, there would be detained in Spain, the greatest part of the wealth that comes from the Indies, and these kingdoms be constantly rich and plentiful. Nor ought we ever to lose sight of this maxim, that the vast treasures, which arrive at Cadiz from those parts, contribute nothing to our relief or advantage, but will rather be turned against this monarchy, so long as they pass directly from the same port, to the rivals of the crown; for by this means, they afterwards go in large quantities, into the dominions of the Turks, who set so high a value upon the dollars of Mexico and Peru, that the merchants of Europe, to our disgrace, there negotiate them with a premium of six, eight and ten per cent. above their intrinsic value. Nor is there any hope of a remedy, since it has been found, that in Constantinople, Cairo, and other cities in those parts, this coin bears a premium of 50 per cent. So that to the misfortune of plundering us at Cadiz, or its port, of the greatest part of the millions, that our flotas and galleons bring over, there is an additional mortification, that several nations disaffected to the monarchy, are suffered to do it, and by this means facilitate, and enlarge their own commerce and wealth; as well as a very painful reflection to us, that many of these millions afterwards pass into the hands of the Turks and

and other infidels, for the increase of their strength, and to our detriment; since by means of this very coin, they will be enabled to carry on bloody wars against the Christians, especially in the dominions of the Spanish monarchy. For besides the large commerce that is carried on with this specie so much admired, at Smirna, Grand Cairo, and other parts of Natolia, Palestine and Egypt, it is notorious, that considerable quantities of our money pass also to Constantinople, in which city, and the neighbouring coasts, are encouraged and formed the principal armaments against Christendom; wretched consequences, that merit the utmost attention, to apply such a remedy as is most likely to succeed! From these and other considerations, permit me to doubt, at least, whether the consciousness of fleets arriving in Spain, from the Indies, loaden with riches, ought to give us joy or sorrow; for my own part, I am tempted to think, we should be sorry for it in point of interest, as often as we deliberate upon the disadvantages, which serious reflection must needs suggest in our unhappy and ruinous situation; and that even the small pittance, which for a time is introduced into these kingdoms, goes out again a few months after in payment for the merchandise foreigners sell to us in larger quantities than they purchase. All these things certainly ought to spur us on to labour with all our might to put our trade upon a proper footing, that our money may be kept at home; and without applying such vigorous measures, in vain is it to project a remedy to our misfortunes. The belief certain persons are possessed of, that by means of bills of exchange the drawing out of our money is to be prevented, seems

seems to deserve no regard, since this is only to be a borrowed and temporary expedient, that certain private traders employ, to save the trouble of conveying money to the places, where it is necessary; but then such correspondents, as draw these bills, must be made whole at last, either in merchandize or specie; and as the commodities and fruits, that are now exported from Spain, are not sufficient to answer our trade with foreign countries, it is a certain consequence that by one hand or other, what is wanting of the ballance, and cannot be paid in merchandize, must be made good from one nation to another in specie. This reasoning is so clear and natural, that any farther explanation would be trifling.

Worthy also of our attention, and a speedy remedy is the misfortune, we labour under, that no small quantities of our coin pass from Spain to the Mahometans of Barbary, by the ports and cities of Salé, Tetuan, Oran, Algiers, Tuniz, Port Farina, and Tripoli. This enables them to support an obstinate and most destructive war, especially on account of the number of captives they make, and for whose redemption, large sums of money are every year drawn from us, and thus we furnish them again with new weapons for our own destruction; very heavy calamities! and, in my apprehension, strike so home to our consciences, that they demand the first care of the government to provide the speediest cure of them. This subject I shall hereafter resume, and propose such measures as I apprehend to be most practicable and effectual; both to remove these evils, and protect our navigation upon all the coasts of Spain, and that by this measure, which is not to be dispensed

with, we may also facilitate an advantageous commerce.

C H A P. V.

The necessity there is to destroy that false notion some persons entertain, that the revenues may be diminished by a grant of indulgences, and abatements of duties to the manufacturers, and other regulations in the customs.

HAVING established this principle, that in order to have an advantageous commerce, it is necessary we sell to foreigners more than we buy of them, it remains to be considered, what measures are most just, safe and effectual for the execution of this interesting project, an accomplishment of which will be attended with nothing less than a revival of the monarchy, and giving it a new life and being, as it will invest it with all that power, splendor, wealth and dignity, that becomes its glorious master, and his loyal and brave subjects.

It has been already observed, that without a great number of good manufactures, it is not possible to attain an advantageous commerce, and no less impracticable to establish and preserve many good manufactures without indulgences or abatements in the taxes, judicious books of rates for the customs, and other encouragements, that can alone be expected from the steady and powerful protection of a sovereign, supported by the zeal, application and vigilance of the ministers, who are charged with the execution. As then indulgences or abatements in the taxes, and a reform of the customs are to be the basis and main spring of the measures

measures proper to be taken in our pursuit of such advantages; these two points shall be treated upon, as the foundation of our success in it. But as every proposal that is made, on the foot of indulgences, or abatements in the taxes, and a regulation of the customs, usually meets with a fierce opposition from some persons of another opinion, and who, though very zealous in the service of his majesty and the public interest, persist in it, no doubt, from their ignorance in certain matters, that seem inconsiderable, and yet principally contribute to the improvement of commerce, and therefore to the augmentation of the treasury, and the number of the people, since they rather apprehend them injurious to the royal revenue and the impost of towns. And as their opposition has been the reason, that all proposals in favour of trade and manufactures have miscarried, it is highly proper, lest any other, that shall be hereafter made, and presented to his majesty, meet with the same fate, to give a clear and irresistible demonstration, that the indulgences, which have hitherto been granted to some few manufacturers, or more considerable allowances; that may be made, neither do, nor will diminish the revenues of the king, or of those of cities, but rather considerably improve both; as also that the treasury and the cities will be so far from sustaining any loss from the new modelling of the duties upon exports and imports, and some others that will be proposed, that on the contrary, the revenues of both will be considerably augmented. For unless the false and indigested notions, that have hitherto thwarted and defeated all schemes in favour of trade either in their birth, or progress, be first re-

moved by solid and undeniable evidence, all other provisions, that are now, or shall be hereafter thought of, and laid before his majesty by his tribunals, juntas or ministers for the enlargement and preservation of it, would be rendred vain and ineffectual. For so long as a conceit prevails, that by indulgences and other regulations, the revenues may be diminished, such as entertain this opinion will find a support, and their opposition take place at the expence of the interest of the king and the publick. Therefore to remove this false apprehension, I shall here produce a few arguments to shew, that neither the revenues of the king, nor those of the towns will be impaired by such a proceeding, and reserve for another place a demonstration of the increase, which these abatements in the duties will occasion in the king's revenues, and at the same time be a relief to the towns.

The city of Madrid scrupled to continue an indulgence in the duties upon wine, oyl and soap to N—— a weaver of gold, silver and silk, and other commodities, who came thither from abroad, and carried on these manufactures by a patent from his majesty, that empowered him to enter in that city every year, for the twenty which his patent extended to, ten arrobs of wine, ten of oyl, and ten of soap free of duty, for every loom he should set up, and keep going: The looms, most of which are for rich commodities, and employ many hands, are now twelve in number. So that the whole indulgence will be reduced to 120 arrobs of wine, 120 of oyl, and 120 of soap annually, and in the whole will not amount yearly to 50 doblons, even at Madrid, where the excises are known to be so excessive; which is little more
than

than 4 doblons a year for every loom, and it is generally thought, that the indulgence would not be two doblons in any other city of Spain.

But from this small sum of 50 doubloons a year, there cannot be apprehended any prejudice to the royal revenue, or the excise, when it is considered that the indulgence will be made amends for by the greater consumption the manufacture itself will occasion in these very commodities; since the greatest part of the working hands will be such as have left their own country, whether in Spain or elsewhere, and come into the city for the sake of the manufacture, as we find it already; and also, because boys, &c. who are employed in the labour, did not before contribute to the duties upon these commodities; for, as they did not work before, their principal food was bread, and some coarse and strong favoured pulse; inasmuch, that, without these fabricks, there would not have been so great an increase in the consumption of the provisions that pay an excise. So that by remitting duties proper to encourage such an establishment, the revenue is not diminished; nor is there any reasonable motive for the city to complain, or pretence to have an imaginary loss made up to the farmer of the royal revenue, or to the excise of Madrid. And indeed it may be observed, that to leave no opening for such an application, his majesty after taking the advice of the council of Castile on the 30th of October 1719, published the following decree, November the 25th of the same year.

“ Forasmuch as these indulgences do not diminish, or prejudice the revenue, or produce of the excises in the city of Madrid, and the fabricks, that are set up there, rather augment

“ and improve it, besides the great advantages;
 “ they yield to my subjects in general, as it is set
 “ forth in the patent; (of which I send a copy
 “ to the council,) I declare and order that the in-
 “ dulgence, which I have granted to the paten-
 “ tee, and all such, as I shall hereafter dispense
 “ upon the same motives, may be understood to
 “ take place, and also take place even in the ex-
 “ cises of Madrid, to which city this resolution
 “ shall be forthwith communicated, with the fore-
 “ mentioned patent inclosed for their observation;
 “ and that all applications from the farmers may be
 “ prevented, these indulgences shall be a part of
 “ the condition, when succeeding contracts are
 “ made.”

It seems then sufficiently proved, that from this
 indulgence there ensues no diminution, or preju-
 dice to the revenues and excises above-mentioned;
 and with as full and clear evidence it can also be
 proved, that both receive an increase another way,
 which the same fabricks and encouragements grant-
 ed to them, are the cause of.

C H A P. VI.

*The first augmentation and improvement of the king's
 revenues and of the excise arising from the indul-
 gences, and other encouragements given to the
 manufactures.*

THE indulgence that was considered in the
 foregoing chapter, comprehends only wine,
 oyl and soap.

But these manufacturers consume also mutton;
 beef, bacon, fresh and salt fish, cheese, pulse, spices,
 salt, vinegar, brandy, beer, tobacco, &c. as also the
 com-

commodities necessary for cloaths and furniture; and for all these they pay the whole duties laid upon them, either by the king, or the city: and as this increase wholly arises from the working hands, that are invited to Madrid, or any other town, by the prospect of a flourishing trade, which is absolutely necessary to engage them to continue, one great advantage each revenue enjoys by their means is very evident.

C H A P. VII.

A second augmentation of the revenues from encouraging the said manufactures.

ANOTHER advantage the revenues reap from such manufactures is, that the indulgence allowed for every loom at work, will scarce be sufficient for the consumption of the master, at least in wine and oyl; and as a loom is of a very delicate frame and texture, and employs four or five hands to assist either in the weaving, or the preparations which the silk, silver and gold must undergo, before they come to the loom; besides those that are employed in the machinery and drawings, it is plain, that all these persons, who live in the manufacture, and for whom the above indulgence is insufficient, pay all the taxes for eatables, which they and their families consume, including even wine, soap and oyl, and also for the commodities, they expend in cloathing and other uses: So that a second increase of the revenues and excise by means of a manufacture is also real and demonstrable. And this improvement will be in proportion to the number of weavers and other workmen, as every person must own, that consi-

great deal more to both revenues. Moreover, from what has been advanced, it is manifest that were there granted to the weavers and their assistants, not barely an indulgence or abatement in the duties upon wine, oyl and soap, but even in those upon the materials, that are wrought up in the fabrics, and also in the sale of them, both the revenues of the king and the city would receive a considerable augmentation.

C H A P. IX.

A fourth great advantage, that would proceed from the manufactories, when supported by indulgences and other encouragements.

BUT notwithstanding these advantages may be very great, the royal revenue, the city of Sevil, her principality, and also other parts of Spain have still a greater interest in the intrinsic value of these fabrics. It is calculated that there would be yearly manufactured, in every one of these 16000 silk and woollen looms, one with another, to the value of 700 dollars, including the materials, labour and dying : At this rate there would be yearly wrought up by the whole 16000 to the value of eleven millions of dollars. So that supposing the amount of three millions in these commodities be yearly consumed by the inhabitants of that city, and most part of her principality, the extraction of an equal amount would be saved, which at present is drawn out in coin, and fruits for the foreign countries, whence those towns were before supplied. Nor on this account would other nations fail of buying and exporting our fruits, since they stand in need of them, for their necessary consumption ;
then

then by selling to the Indies, and the North (as they like best) the rest of their goods, it follows, there would every year come in and circulate the remaining 8 millions of dollars in that city and principality. Of this last sum it is estimated that about 4 millions would be going out of that principality to pay for the materials, viz. silk, wool, gold and silver thread, which were wrought up in the manufactures of the 16000 looms, including the value of the dying goods; as they must purchase in Valencia, Murcia, and other provinces of Spain the raw silk they want, over and above the produce of their own principality; and also fine wool from Castile. So that this benefit would be also diffused into several of his majesty's kingdoms; and by mutually relieving each other's necessities, towns would become more populous, better able to pay their taxes, and even to bear higher impositions, and the people live easy and comfortable.

In exchange for the gold, silver and dying goods from America, which are expended in these manufactures, there might be returned a part of their own woven goods, either, by carrying on a direct commerce to those countries, or selling them to such as trade thither.

Thus after a deduction of these several sums from the above 11 millions, the city and principality of Sevil, would be gainer above 3 millions: And if we add half a million of dollars, which, upon the best calculation, would be the yearly amount of the wines, oyls, brandies and fruits, exported out of the principality, there would still remain a balance in their favour of above 3 millions and a half of dollars: And if we estimate
their

their consumption of linnens, Bacalao and other salt fish, spicery, cacao, sugar, tobacco and other fruits, and commodities, that now come from abroad, at the rate of 2 millions, there would be still a surplus of a million and half yearly, after they had paid for every thing they should want either from the other provinces of Spain, or from abroad. Thus Sevil would not be daily impoverishing herself, as she now does, by having more money drawn out, than there comes in; but rather from this annual ballance of a million and half of dollars in her favour, it is a clear consequence and proof, that the whole principality would remain very rich, plentiful, and provided with all necessaries. Moreover, by a circulation of the millions, their own manufactures and fruits would produce, they would insure a considerable increase to the revenues of the king and of the towns themselves, that would enable them to make his Majesty larger contributions, and pay extraordinary subsidies, as often as the exigencies of war and other necessities of the state should require them.

Whoever is at the pains of reading this treatise will see, that all the above calculations or amounts, have been taken in the gross, and according to probability; and be also sensible, that upon such a subject, precise and certain rules cannot be laid down. However, for the point I advanced, it will be enough for me to shew by apt reasonings and with a moral certainty, that if we re-establish in Sevil and her principality the 16000 looms, above-mentioned, and avail ourselves of the advantages, nature has so liberally dispensed to her, both in point of fruitfulness and situation, and by that distinguishing blessing of a large river, navigable for many

many leagues, the city would sell to foreigners much more than she bought of them ; and then, it is an undoubted consequence, that the city and its large province, would possess riches and plenty, in lieu of that scarcity of money, and other distresses, they now suffer. For let commerce be once set on foot, no matter how, or by whom, the cash of the original stock is always in search after the first proprietor of the merchandise, whose gain is usually more, than the neat profits of such as buy and sell. This is confirmed by many rich cities of the Mediterranean, the North and other parts ; for those that flourish by their own manufactures, are more in number than those that prosper on the foot of buying and selling only. Lyons in France, for instance, is grown so populous, and rich as she is known to be, from her numerous and excellent manufactures. And had the same towns, that reap so much profit from these, the genius and address to trade on their own account, as the city and principality of Sevil, and other places used to do, they would be in possession of both advantages : Nor would there be any difficulty in it ; for it is notorious, that what is proposed, has been, and for many years was practised in the city of Sevil, and other parts of Spain : Nor is there at this time any new obstacles, to render it impossible to re-establish them. As shall be proved in other parts of this treatise.

G H A P. X. ARGUMENTS.

What has been supposed, and applied to the kingdom of Sevil in particular, is made general and extended to all the kingdoms of Spain, to shew the extensive and universal improvements, from the advantages mentioned in the foregoing chapters.

THOUGH the calculations made under the three last articles of an augmentation of the revenues, and other happy consequences, were principally formed upon the plan of re-establishing the 16000 looms, that formerly had been in Sevil; it is to be observed, that what was said of that city and principality, and suggested for the recovery of its former wealth, is also to be understood comparatively, of all the other cities and provinces of Spain; and in particular Segovia, Toledo, Cordova, Granada, Mercia, Valencia, Zaragoza, Valladolid, Medina del Campo, and other parts of the continent, that in former times, and not very long since, flourished by manufactures and traffic. But care must be taken to estimate the advantages of each particular according to the quality, number of people, materials, fruits, and address of the respective districts. For in the article of manufactories, success does not entirely depend upon the goodness, and plenty of fruits and materials, a country produces. These defects, and wants may be made up by management and industry. In proof of it many examples might be produced, were it not sufficient to mention Holland and Genoa, in whose districts, though barren of silk, good wool, and dying materials, many and prime manufactories of these and other sorts

forts are flourishing. And as Spain possesses these and other materials in great plenty and perfection, and is equally furnished with all the necessary provisions for the working hands; which the territories of Holland and Genoa are also destitute of, and the nation is still the same as in former times, there is reason to believe, that every thing, which has been formerly, may be again, whenever due encouragement shall be given by those in power; especially when those heavy fetters are taken off, which with our own hands we have laid upon the manufactures, and the sale of them both at home and abroad, as well by excessive taxes upon provisions, consumed by the working hands, and the materials they make use of, as by the heavy and repeated duty of the Alcavala at every sale of them, and the 15 per cent. which manufactures, by the book of rates, are to pay upon exportation, contrary to the natural and political maxim, observed by other nations, as it has been already hinted in former chapters, and will be considered more at large hereafter. Nor can I forbear dwelling upon these two points, *Manufactures, and a Reform of the duties*, and a frequent mention of them, as they are the root, which by a prudent cultivation is to produce the remedy for our misfortunes, and give new life to the monarchy; for it is certain, that the excess of these duties is the original cause of the destruction of our manufactories, a necessary consequence of which is the loss of an advantageous commerce, (which is now fallen into the hands of foreigners) as also the dispeopling, and present inability of Spain.

For a better illustration of this point, and the happy consequences that depend upon it, suppose there

there were set on foot, for instance, 60000 new looms in these kingdoms, which would be replacing a considerable part of those, that are said to be in antient times.

As I am satisfied, there are now in the kingdom of Valencia above 2000 looms of silk and wool; in the principality of Catalonia, above 500; and in the kingdom of Granada, 1000, including both sorts; and there are also in other provinces manufactures of silk, though not very considerable, and in almost all of them no contemptible number of looms for the several fabrics of wool, such as the middling and coarse cloths, bays, serges, camblets, droguets, &c. one may, I think, without rashness, suppose, the silk and woollen looms, that are now in Spain to be 10000. Now these, with the 60000 new ones that have been imagined to be set up, would amount to 70000; and one may reckon 14000, or about a fifth part of them to be silk looms: and the remaining 56000 of fine, middling and coarse wool, of which last there is no less consumption.

In the foregoing chapter I remarked, that in every silk and woollen loom, taken together, there might be yearly manufactured to the value of 700 dollars, including the expence of materials and dying goods. In this estimate I was moderate, as well to stand clear of every thing that might seem forced, either in the facts, or reasoning, as because exactness was not necessary for the points under debate in that chapter. But as preciseness is more necessary in the calculations, and reasoning contained in this and some other chapters, I shall here produce a calculation made a few years ago by the
pre-

prefident and inspectors of the silk manufacture in the city of Sevil, which is as follows.

“ That in every loom of entire tiffu, there is yearly wrought up 100 weight of silk, and 220 ounces of leaf silver or gold, more or less. These manufactured yield 150 yards, which at the moderate price of 3 doblons, amount to 450 doblons.

“ In each loom for middling tiffu, 150 pounds of silk, and 150 ounces of metal yearly, and these wrought up yield 190 yards, which at the rate of 2 doblons a yard, amount to 380 doblons.

“ In every loom for brocades, 200 pounds of silk, and between 70 and 80 ounces of metal, which are manufactured annually into 300 yards, and at a doblon and a half per yard, make 450 doblons.

“ In a loom of double taffeta, there is used 280 pounds of silk annually, which wrought up produce 1800 yards, and at the rate of 10 reals de Vellon, will amount to 300 doblons.

“ In every loom of single taffeta is expended 200 pounds of silk yearly, with small difference, and they yield above 3000 yards, which at the rate of 6 reals de Vellon are worth 300 doblons.

“ In every loom of plain or striped sattins, there is used yearly 200 pounds of silk; which woven yield 1200 yards, and at the rate of 16 reals a yard, one with another, the whole amount will be 300 doblons.

“ In every loom of damask, there is yearly expended 280 pounds, which wrought up produce

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“ 1200 yards, and at the rate of 20 reals, one
“ with another, are worth 400 doblons.”

Though some persons may be a little jealous of these calculations; and willing to reduce them a sixth or a fifth, it must be acknowledged, that after this reduction, there will be manufactured annually in every loom, one with another, to the value of 1000 dollars, including the price of the materials. So that in the 14000 looms appropriated to silk, out of the 70000 for this commodity and wool; there would be manufactured to the amount of 14 millions of dollars; not forgetting that there is a fluctuation in the prices from year to year, according to the quantity of silk and fruits, and from other accidents, that usually raise and fall the market.

From the information of people of experience, and to be relied upon, we find that in every woollen loom, one with another, allowing for the difference between fine, middling and coarse cloths, there can be yearly manufactured to the value of above 700 dollars, including the materials. Hence there would be annually wrought up in the above, 56000 woollen looms, to the amount of 39 millions, which added to the 14 millions produced by the silk manufactures, would make 53 millions of dollars.

I cannot forbear repeating, that all positions whatever, founded upon principles that are not quite fixed and determinate, are liable to some defect and uncertainty: however, they do not fail of affording light and probability, by their approaches to real truth; especially, when some of the principles upon which they are formed, are certain and acknowledged; and lastly, when one proposes

poses sure principles, and prudent reflections upon what is doubtful, every one will be enabled, to leave, take, or argue upon what should appear most evident or probable; a consideration that encourages me to debate other points upon principles still more doubtful than those I have just now mentioned. Therefore I shall not dispute with any body about the exactness, or defects of the calculations, I should be disposed to offer on those heads; as I am conscious of the danger, these, which I am going to propose, are liable to.

From what I shall offer in another chapter upon the number of the inhabitants of Spain, it will be found, that it contains seven millions and 500 thousand souls, a few more or less; and though there be many of these that yearly expend in manufactures of silk or wool, or of both sorts above 100 crowns, without any regard to linnen, it is also known, that the greatest part of the inhabitants of both sexes are found to be dressed in middling and coarse cloths; and that every suit usually lasts them two years, a little more or less. And when we consider, that the country people, and mechanicks, take up for a suit six yards of ordinary cloth, (which is narrower than the fine) this at 15 reals a yard, will amount to six dollars, and that two dollars more will be necessary for linings, the whole commodity will cost 8 dollars yearly; and upon supposition a suit of cloaths shall wear two years, there will be expended by every individual four dollars a year. But as it is also certain, that many of these wear a cloak and a cap, one may, I think, state the annual expence of every one of this class, in the commodities above named, at 5 dollars.

Nor does it pass unobserved too, that younger boys and girls of the lower class, will not expend in cloaths 4 dollars yearly; and that the same will happen to a great number of women, exclusive also of linnen: but in consideration there are many of both sexes in the kingdom, that yearly expend in commodities of silk and wool from 20 to 100 dollars and more, I am persuaded, that for every one of the seven millions 500 thousand, one with another, we may fairly calculate their annual expence in both commodities at 4 dollars and a half, which for the whole will amount to something above 33 millions of dollars: and if we deduct this sum from the 53 millions, the supposed value of the fabricks manufactured in the above 70000 looms, there would remain to us of both commodities the value of 20 millions. And by means of this overplus one may, I think, furnish his majesty's Indies, both with the silks, they are in want of, and also the fine cloths, that go thither from Europe, since they have no occasion for ordinary cloths, by having them in plenty from their own fabricks. Nay, I am apt to believe, that after the necessary supplies for Spain and the Indies, there will still remain considerable quantities of the above silks, and fine cloths for exportation to several kingdoms and countries in Europe, especially those of the north, that yield no silk, and but very little of fine wool. By this and other wise provisions we should accomplish the grand point of selling others more commodities and fruits, than we buy. For even by the single provision of setting up the 60000 looms abovementioned, there would be, after supplying the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies, so many goods left, as would suffice, and ever be more

more than a ballance for the spices, linens, bacallao, and other cured fish, we are obliged to have from foreign parts for our fast-days ; though the introduction of the last article from abroad might be considerably reduced, by taking such steps as shall be proposed in another place. Then after the supposed exportation of our silks and woollen cloths, we should still have the benefit of our wines, brandies, oyls, raisins, and other fruits, that are more than we consume ourselves, and go abroad in considerable quantities, besides a great many small wares, that might be made of the excellent iron of Biscay, and other provinces, both for home and foreign consumption ; and great quantities of chrystal, and soap, that might be manufactured in these kingdoms, by means of the Sosa and Barilla, which they abound with, and are acknowledged to be of such superior quality, that these two ingredients are eagerly desired by all nations in Europe, and in preference to all other sought after, and exported from Spain.

Moreover, the quick-silver, copper, tin and other profitable metals, which his majesty's dominions yield in great plenty, merit our consideration ; as also that in many parts the soil is peculiarly adapted to the growth of flax and hemp, materials very advantageous, and will furnish us with rigging and sail-cloth, both for our own and the supply of other countries.

By these natural means, and which the constitution of these kingdoms renders very practicable, there would not only be prevented the extraction of many millions of gold and silver, but there might come in from foreign countries a considerable quantity of money. But should we succeed

no farther than to detain all, or a moiety, of the treasures that come from the Indies, and have hitherto gone directly to other kingdoms. Spain serving them only for a passport, we should then have that plenty, increase of people, strength and other advantages, we are now destitute of, by the desertion, and decay of the manufactures above mentioned, and which it is in our power to revive, enlarge and improve, by granting some indulgences, and making a judicious reform of the duties upon exports and imports. For though the commodities now exported from Spain are few, there would then go abroad large quantities; and were they to pay no higher duty than two and a half per cent. of their value, the customs would yield more than at present. Nay, as the country rendered more populous by means of the manufactures, there would ensue an increase of the revenue, arising out of the more frequent sales and purchases, and a larger consumption of commodities and fruits; and what is a natural consequence, a better cultivation and produce from our lands, and an improvement in all mechanic arts. To all which ought to be added, as a sure and settled principle, that though the treasury should not be so visibly augmented, and go hand in hand with the wealth of the subjects, it would not be possible, under the obligation, and tender regard we have for the king, to leave him poor, while we ourselves are rich. Moreover, let us always recollect, when we think of this essential point, of re-establishing, and enlarging our manufactories, that we ought not to be discouraged by the language of certain low-spirited persons, that believe there is not a sufficient number of people in Spain to execute this grand project; for

for it shall be demonstrated, that by means of those that now are here, and such as commerce will always bring along with it, there will be a sufficient number for this and other provisions for the relief of this kingdom.

C H A P. XI.

No foundation for the notion of those, who contend, that there is not at this time a sufficient number of inhabitants in Spain to furnish hands for the looms, that were formerly employed.

SOME persons believe and declare, that as Spain is less populous than it was formerly, the inhabitants are too few to furnish the vast number of working hands, that were formerly in the cities and towns concerned in the weaving trade. To this may be answered; if we will take but a single step, which is very proper, and shall be explained more at large elsewhere, for collecting together the poor, the lazy and the vagabonds, that now live upon the fragments and charity of convents, or by rapine, and are so far from being of service to the public, that they become the heavy load upon it, which the laws of the kingdom complain of; and also employ orphans, &c. that must otherwise perish for want, the number will be in a great measure provided. Then as soon as trade begins to flourish, and people are sure of employment; there will come in to us large and constant supplies of catholicks from abroad, and who are also skilful in these fabricks; and their marrying and settling in Spain with their families, is a sure and safe way to increase the inhabitants considerably. Not that we need to wait for this

last and slower refuge, in respect to manufactories ; for the very progress of our fabricks and commerce is what most contributes to it, and best insures an increase of people and wealth. That this is the most effectual, and as it were, the only way to succeed, Holland in general, and the city of Amsterdam in particular, affords a solid proof. This city, which in the year 1600 was inconsiderable both in point of numbers, and wealth, is now one of the richest and most populous in Europe ; or more properly, it exceeds all trading cities in number of people, and grandeur of buildings ; in money, credit and merchandise, and may be called the general magazine of the world. For though Paris or London may vie with, or go beyond it, this is owing to the residence of a court, which contributes to their opulence, and number of inhabitants.

The speedy and vast increase Amsterdam alone obtained by cherishing and encouraging her manufactures, trade and navigation, even without being supplied by her own territory with fruits and commodities for perhaps a fifth part of the inhabitants ; so very barren, and small is the district she possesses beyond the walls. It is also very remarkable, that all the 17 provinces of the Low Countries, which carry on such an extensive commerce all over the world, are reckoned to contain but 3 millions of souls, as Lewis Guicciardini assures us, in his description of Belgia, dedicated to Philip II. in the year 1556. And though this number amounts not to a third part of the people of Spain, including Portugal, they have sufficient hands, both for their many and rich manufactures of silk, cloth, tapistry, linen, &c. for agriculture,
war

war, and the navigating of thousands of ships large and small, which they employ in naval armaments, and a commerce with all the 4 quarters of the world, more especially in the 3 provinces of Holland, Zealand and Flanders. Some persons will be apt to reply, that the 7 provinces of Holland, part of the 17 abovementioned, have been better peopled since that time. This is true, but then it is to be considered, that the increase alone proceeded from the improvement of their trade and navigation. And in respect to Spain, I apprehend, that in the general complaint of a scarcity and want of people, all the provinces are not meant; for it is notorious that Catalonia, Navarra, Cantabria, Asturia, Galicia, and the mountains of Burgos, are very populous, and most of the inhabitants industrious; and I look upon Estremadura, and the kingdoms of Sevil, Cordova, Jaen, and Valencia to be pretty well peopled. It is certain, that Italy, though rich and powerful, has much fewer inhabitants than Spain, and yet furnishes vast numbers of workmen for the many rich manufactories at Turin, Milan, Genoa, Lucca, Florence, Venice, Naples, Messina, Palermo, and other cities, without wanting people to cultivate their lands, and exercise the other necessary occupations.

The people of England, Scotland and Ireland fall very short of Spain in numbers; for authors of the best reputation scarce make the inhabitants of the three kingdoms to be 5 millions*: and yet they find no want of people for the culture of lands, to man their vast fleets, and navigate a prodigious number of merchant ships, that traverse the 4 quarters of the world; for their East and West India

* This calculation is certainly too low.

colonies, and their numerous and prime manufactures, which enrich both the nation, and their sovereign : why are we then to believe, there is a want of numbers in Spain for these and other matters of importance ?

To strengthen the comparison and enforce my argument, let it be considered, that the whole district of Genoa has not half so many inhabitants as the kingdom of Galicia; and yet, there are supernumerary people for the many prime fabricks of silk, paper, &c. that flourish there, with which they supply themselves, and other countries. For it is reckoned, that by the sale of paper alone, with which they almost entirely supply Spain and the Indies, they draw out from us above half a million of dollars yearly. Nor are they at a loss for mariners in their extensive and profitable navigation; or to send abroad, in the great numbers we meet with in Spain, France, Germany, and several other parts of Europe. This people, the English, Dutch, and others that might be produced, afford a convincing proof, that to establish manufactures, or to encourage navigation and commerce in any country, is, dowing the seeds that will certainly produce an increase of people, riches and strength to a state, as also ease and happiness to the people. In short, if there be no want of hands in Spain for the most rigorous employments, in particular to supply the numerous body of shepherds we have, and stand in need of, whose occupation is the most laborious and severe that can be imagined, exposed as they are to the rigours of heat, cold and wet, ill fed and worse cloathed, having the desert for a lodging, rocks for a pillow, and brutes for their companions, ever banished from

from all the conveniences of life; why is it to be imagined, (so long as there are such persons) we shall ever fail of hands for manufactures, which are wrought in the shade, and without excess of fatigue, which deprives us not of human society, and purchase wholesome diet, decent cloaths, a convenient lodging, and a comfortable bed? As then we have a large body of shepherds, to take care of our numerous flocks, we must conclude, that if many profitable branches in the weaving trade were set on foot, and encouraged by an abatement of some duties, and better management of others, there will be plenty of weavers, and other workmen; and as these would earn sufficient wages, they would not only be saved from perishing through want, but enabled to marry, raise families, bring up their children, and teach them industry; which are the principal means to render a nation populous and rich.

I pass by other well known and very painful occupations, for which there are also sufficient hands; and shall only take notice, that there is not even a want of *Buenas Voyas*, or persons that hire themselves to row and serve on board the galleys, with equal fatigue and inconvenience as the very prisoners condemned to do it.

To shew what vast numbers are employed in that painful occupation of tending the flocks, I shall observe, that in a manuscript paper, communicated to me some years ago by a minister of rank, understanding and credit, setting forth the various motives that oblige us to take care of their preservation and increase, it is said, that the flocks which every winter pass by *Estremadura* only from the mountains, are found to be 4 millions; that
about

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about a hundred persons are employed to take care of 20000, a few more or less, as the pastures lie together, or at a distance, which makes the number of shepherds to be 20000; and as we are assured by some authors, that the flocks, which stay behind and go not to Estremadura, are still more; the number of shepherds employed in the care of both will then exceed 40000. But such as are conversant with these parts assure us, that at this time the flocks are considerably augmented, by the benefit of the peace, and the late favourable seasons, which contribute to preserve and increase their number. This is also confirmed by the high price of herbage in Estremadura. Should any person imagine, that the above number of 40000 souls, which upon a moderate calculation are thought to be employed in tending the flocks, is raised too high, he will be able to make up any defect he can suppose, by adding the numbers employed about the herds of cattle, mares and mules, &c. and whose office upon the mountains and in the pastures is also very laborious. For my own part I think that all these together will exceed the sum of 50000 souls.

C H A P. XII.

The depopulation and poverty of some provinces of Spain not owing to the discovery and possession of the Indies, but to other causes mentioned.

ON this occasion I have thought proper to shew, that poor and depopulate as some provinces of Spain are found to be, the thing is not owing so much to those that have gone over to the Indies, as to other causes. Cantabria, Navarra,

varra, Asturia, the mountains of Burgos, and Galicia, are the provinces from whence most Spaniards pass to those parts; it is also well known, that from Galicia there went away more soldiers in the levies and recruits for Flanders, than from any other kingdom, and yet these provinces continue to be the best peopled in Spain. What certainly contributes much to it is, that these adventurers to India, by means of the riches they send or bring home, enable many of their male and female relations to change their condition, that otherwise might not have married for want of a portion in money, or an estate which they usually purchase for them with this view; and by their supplies give them also an opportunity to cultivate their lands, that lay neglected for want of money to bear the expence, as I have observed it myself in some parts.

It is also to be remarked, that as the very persons that passed over to the Indies, were for the most part younger children, or destitute of fortune, and a decent livelihood, and incapable of maintaining a family, they might perhaps have never married in these kingdoms, had they stayed at home, and if they had married, both themselves, their wives and children were in danger of perishing for want; so that they would leave behind them little or no posterity. Hence it seems, that without any loss to Spain, from a want of their issue (for staying here they would have had none) these have raised up families in the Indies, planting and establishing there the catholic faith, Spanish blood, and loyalty; while at the same time many have also remitted portions to their kindred in Spain, for the increase of the people here.

All

All these things prove, methinks, that their going over to America has not reduced, but rather augmented the number of people in Spain; and experience also confirms it: for those provinces most abound with inhabitants, whence the greatest number of Spaniards have gone abroad. However, it is not amiss to lay some restraint upon this humour, and not permit such a vast number of adventurers to the Indies; some of which are called Polizones, other Llovidos. The former, because they embark with leave; the latter, from their going by stealth, till they have lost sight of the port, they sailed from, and in the Indies the generality of them come to nothing.

From the provinces of Toledo, la Mancha, Guadalaxara, Cuenca, Soria, Segovia, Valladolid and Salamanca, and others of Castile, few go to the Indies, and yet these are the least populous parts of Spain. So that we must look out for some other cause, and I discover none but the poverty that proceeds from the ruin of trade, and the manufactures, that were best and most numerous in these provinces, and those of Andalusia, than any other of the crown of Castile. For notwithstanding the number of people was reduced, the heavy taxes still continued, not without extortion and abuse in the collecting; and from all these things seems to have ensued the destruction of some, and the extreme poverty of others; which also prevents a kingdom from being populous. For it is a matter of fact, and very natural for extreme wretchedness to dispirit, and take away all disposition to a married state; and many, that do marry, and have families, cannot bring up their children; so that it is no small number that perish, especially in their infancy. For what nourishment can the breast

breast of a mother provide, or administer to children while she herself feeds only on bread and water, lives in and struggles with constant fatigue and melancholy? And of those that escape in this tender age, as it is long before they are able to maintain themselves by their own labour, numberless also perish in the mean time for want of sustenance. Others even afterwards at mature age, hasten their death by an excess of fatigue, and a want of the ordinary recruits of life, being reduced to feed on bread and water, destitute of a bed, and the necessary shelter from the inclemency of weather, as well as the remedies and other reliefs indispensable in the time of sickness. Since then so many natural causes present themselves to account for our distresses, and the depopulation of several provinces in particular, it would be idle to seek for others.

Since then the distress of the common people is so great and notorious, and a reduction of their numbers a natural consequence of it, who will deny that a decrease of the royal revenues must ensue? It is well known, that these proceed from, and principally depend upon the duties, that are charged upon provisions and other commodities expended. If therefore by such a depopulation, the number of consumers, who are to pay the duties, be reduced, the royal revenue must yield less; and if many from their poverty be obliged to live upon bread and water, go barefoot, and almost naked, without eating flesh, wine, oyl, or any of the provisions on which the principal taxes are laid, or wearing any but commodities of the lowest value, which they also clothe with patches, till they scarce cover their nakedness, and seldom

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are able to purchase others, upon which the Alcavala and other duties are raised; unavoidable and great must needs be the decrease that will ensue from hence to the royal revenue, and even that of cities, to the estates, farms, and incomes of private persons, this great ruin spreading itself every way, not letting even the dues of the clergy and charity itself escape. But on the other hand, were the common people in easy circumstances, a hundred crowns, for instance, in possession of a labourer, or one that lives upon his work, will pass, and circulate through so many hands, by a repeated purchase of provisions and commodities, as to yield in the course of an year 60 or 70 crowns to the king's revenue, and city imposts. For seldom will they pass from one hand to another without contributing 6, 7, or 8 per cent. either to the Millones or Alcavalas. And as it is natural for this 100 crowns to produce 10 or 12 different purchases in the compass of a year, the presumption of its raising almost an equal sum in the duties is not without foundation; an advantage that cannot be hoped for, unless there remain to the labourer, or mechanic, after he has paid the charges of his work, a constant gain for the maintenance and cloathing of himself and family. In such proportion we are to look upon this advantage diffused and multiplied to every town and province, where by trade and easy taxes they shall obtain the relief they stand in need of, and also money for traffic, which after many circulations usually rolls back to the first hand, to be laid out again, with a continual change of hands, and a succession of commerce.

Another argument, that the poverty and depopulation of Spain is not owing to the discovery, or possession of the Indies, as some believe, is, that France, England and Holland have several provinces and colonies in the East and West Indies, particularly the Hollanders in the East, who in that long and painful navigation employ above 150 ships from 30 to 60 guns, manned with 25000 sailors, comprehending officers, soldiers and mariners, besides 12000 regular troops of their own nation, to garison the forts. To these may be added, numbers that are employed in agencies and other trading commissions, and who inhabit the settlements in various ports and provinces, which they rule over. And yet, without reducing their numbers in Europe, they not only possess their own Indies, but ours too; insomuch that they are very powerful and rich in money, commodities, fortresses, palaces, gardens, jewels and rich furniture, and all sorts of fruits. From these considerations it is inferred, that the Indies are not the thing that enervates and dispeoples Spain, but the commodities by which foreigners have drained us of money, and destroyed our manufactories, at the same time that our heavy taxes continue. So that we have reason to conclude, that whenever the fabrics are revived and augmented, and our taxes less heavy, by being shared amongst a greater number of contributors, the wealth and strength of the monarchy will be recovered.

C H A P. XIII.

Other political and christian motives, that leads us to consult the ease, increase and preservation of the common people.

Notwithstanding every thing advanced in the foregoing chapter dictates to us how active we ought to be in our endeavours to ease the common people, both in point of trade and taxes, and how much this contributes to the service of the king, and the glory of the monarchy, it is a point of so great importance, that it compels me to explain and enforce it still more with the reasoning of a French writer; and I shall give his own words, in a literal version, both to avoid the imputation of assuming the merit of his wise counsels, as to stamp a higher authority upon what he advances.

Monfieur Vauban, engineer general, and marshal of France, not less famous for his skill in war than his zeal in the service of his master Lewis XIV. and the general interest of his kingdoms, after having visited in the course of 40 years every part of them, and looked into the very constitution of the common people, and more especially considered their numbers, manufactures, commerce, &c. wrote a treatise under the title of *Le dixme Royal*, in which he has equally shewn his great abilities, and zeal for the public welfare. For throughout the whole treatise he has scarce a page, maxim, or proposition, that tends not to the ease, preservation and improvement of his country, always regarding the service and greatest glory of his sovereign, inseparable from the general interest

terest of his subjects. " With this view he is very particular in setting forth what care ought to be taken to preserve and augment their numbers, without ever consenting to have the common people slighted or oppressed, since it is their labour, commerce and tribute that enriches a king and his kingdom. It is these, says he, that supply him with soldiers and sailors for his armaments by sea or land, and most part of his officers; that exercise all mechanic arts and crafts, carry on the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, execute all the painful offices of labourers, vintagers and husbandmen; and that tend upon and feed the flocks. In short, it is the common people that perform all the works and labours, great and small, both in town and country. Therefore, says this great man, it is our duty to be always vigilant in supporting and easing them by all practicable means; adding, that when the people are not oppressed, they will be encouraged to marry, be better fed and clothed, their children will be stronger, and better educated, and they will take more care of their business. Lastly, they will labour with more vigour and inclination, when they find the main part of their profit to center in themselves. And it is certain, the grandeur of a prince is in proportion to the number of his subjects; upon these depend his patrimony, felicity, riches, strength, fortune, and dignity in the world. Hence a subject can never contribute more to the service and glory of his sovereign, than by often setting before his eyes this fundamental maxim of government. For since all his felicity depends upon it, he cannot em-

" ploy too much care for the preservation and
 " increase of this class of people, which is of so
 " great importance to him."

Thus the great author concludes, and passes on to other points directed to the same end. And lest it be suspected, that his great love to his king and country had hurried him on with indiscreet zeal, while he lays so great stress upon assisting and preserving the common people, and draws the important consequences that result from the maxim, I have thought proper, on this account; and for a better confirmation of it; to collect a few, out of the many reflections upon this subject, which our celebrated countryman Don Diego de Saavadra has dispersed throughout his political and christian essays; who says, essay 66. "The strength
 " of kingdoms depends upon the number of sub-
 " jects. He that possesses most, is the greatest
 " prince, not he that has the largest extent of do-
 " minions; for this neither attacks nor defends,
 " but by means of the inhabitants, who are its
 " greatest security. The Emperor Adrian said,
 " *He would rather see the empire full of people than*
 " *riches.* And with good reason; for riches with-
 " out people invite war, and cannot protect them-
 " selves. But he that has a great many subjects,
 " possesses great strength and riches. *In the mul-*
 " *titude of people (as the Holy Spirit* said) is*
 " *the king's honour, but in the want of people is*
 " *the destruction of the prince.* On the same subject
 " said the prince, Alonso the wise, *A state ought*
 " *to consist of good sort of people, natives rather*
 " *than foreigners, if one can have them, and of*
 " ** gentlemen, and farmers and mechanicks.* Because

* Prov. xiv. 28.

such as have been educated in different customs
 and religions, are rather domestic enemies,
 than neighbours. Strangers introduce their
 vices and corrupt notions, and easily enter into
 plots against the natives †. This inconvenience
 is not very considerable, when peasants are
 only introduced for the cultivation of lands, or
 mechanicks, but rather a conveniency. Selim
 emperor of the Turks sent from Cairo to Con-
 stantinople a great number of mechanicks. The
 Poles, when they elected Henry duke of
 Anjou for their king, made it a condition, that
 he should bring with him families of artificers.
 When Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem, he
 carried away captive a thousand mechanicks †.
 In essay 67. *Prune, but not cut down*, this great
 counsellor of princes has the following clauses.

The shepherds, whose duty and care resem-
 bles that of * princes, reaps the benefit of the
 milk and wool of his flock; but in so conside-
 rate a manner, that he neither drains the blood,
 nor shears so close to the skin, as not to leave a
 sufficient covering to protect against heat and
 cold. So ought a prince, said the king Alonso,
to take more care of the property of the publick
than his own, because their substance and riches
are, as it were, his own. The husbandman
 does not cut down the tree, though he may
 want wood for his family-use, but lops off the
 branches, and not all; he rather leaves it in such
 a state, that they may sprout forth again, that
 when it is clothed afresh it may yield him

† Quare qui inquilinos, et advenas ante hac in civitatem recepe-
 runt, hi magna ex parte seditionibus jactati sunt. Arist. lib. 5, Pol. c. 3.

† 2 Kings xxiv. 16.

* Jerem. xxiii. 1.

" the same advantage next year : a consideration
 " that has no influence upon the farmer ; for as
 " he has no regard for the inheritance, he thinks
 " only of making the most of it, during the con-
 " tinuance of his lease, though he leave it in ruins
 " to its lord †, who should be attentive to the
 " preservation of his kingdom, as a safe deposit of
 " his treasure, of which he may avail himself in
 " time of necessity. For as king Alonso said in
 " his laws, taking Aristotle for his guide, in an
 " instruction to Alexander the great : The great-
 " est treasure a king possesses, and what he last
 " parts with, is the people, when they are well
 " taken care of. And this is agreeable to what
 " the emperor Justinian said, *That the kingdom and*
 " *treasury of an emperor, or king, is then rich, and*
 " *abundant, when his subjects are wealthy, and*
 " *their lands fruitful.*

" Taxes are not to be laid upon the necessaries
 " of life, but on things that serve for luxury, cu-
 " riosity, ornament and pomp. So that, when-
 " ever excess is chastised, the greatest burden falls
 " upon the rich and powerful, while labourers and
 " mechanicks, which are a branch of the com-
 " monwealth it is most our interest to support,
 " are relieved and made easy. It is in some mea-
 " sure a reformation to render luxuries expensive,
 " The greatest evil in taxes and royal revenues
 " proceeds from the receivers and collectors ; for
 " oftentimes they lay heavier burdens than the
 " revenue itself. Nor do subjects bear any thing
 " with so much reluctance as the oppression of
 " officers in collecting the taxes."

† Aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis. Quintil. de orat.

These are the principal clauses that relate to the subject of this chapter, to be found in this great politician.

C H A P. XIV.

Reflections upon the introduction of foreign catholicks into Spain; the occupations and ends for which one may wish for, and even encourage their settlement in these kingdoms.

IN the foregoing chapter having shewn the importance it is to preserve and augment the number of our common people, it will be no surprise I should in this mention one of the principal means to attain this great purpose.

Some ancient and modern authors observe, that all the gains of foreigners depend not upon the sale of merchandise, because many of them become contractors for the revenue, and men of business that raise fortunes independent of buying and selling; and that there are also thousands exercising other occupations in these kingdoms; and therefore they believe such an establishment detrimental to the kingdom. To this may be given an easy answer, that in farming the revenues, and the principal contracts for stores, there are now very few foreigners concerned. For the Spaniards have lately opened their eyes, and so much turned their thoughts this way, that they perfectly understand all such transactions, and are no ways inferior to those nations that were more dextrous in it, and we no longer want the assistance of foreigners in this respect. There are indeed foreigners that deal much in bills of exchange, but as most of them spend both their capital and profits in the kingdom,

dom, I consider them as native Spaniards; for the generality are settled here with their children, and some with grand-children.

As to the many foreigners that find employment in Spain, and exercise mechanick arts and trades, one may say, that their gains, which principally arise from day-labour, are very moderate; and that they want almost their whole income for a tolerable maintenance for their families, as most of them are married; and I also know many that support themselves barely and with difficulty. So that all, or the greatest part of what they earn, may be said to continue in Spain; and if some make remittances to their relations, they must be inconsiderable, and to be slighted in comparison of the great advantages arising from their living and employment in Spain. For they are a means to reduce the importation of foreign merchandise, the whole amount of which goes usually out of the kingdom. I confess both on this account and to gain time to people Spain, I should think it advisable to pursue the scheme laid down with so much prudence in the above essays 66 and 67. and introduce into these kingdoms foreigners bred up in mechanic arts and trades, were it practicable, even to the number of 200000 catholicks, exclusive of those that are already settled here, and which amount to some thousands. This I recommend in spite of the opposition of certain authors, less enlightened than Saavedra, that have also treated upon this subject, but in my opinion with more zeal than understanding. They are apprehensive the purity of the faith will be in danger from such a settlement, and that their children will imitate their fathers; and are willing to infer, that

that these must be void of regard for their native country, nor afford us the affection and reliance of native and loyal subjects. But this thought appears to be without foundation; for we find as good cathelicks in foreign countries as in Spain, and such as are no ways inferior in good manners.

This is confirmed by many that are already settled in this kingdom, and lead regular lives in their families, carefully discharging their own business, and constantly assisting at divine worship with piety and devotion; and what is more, we do not find them giving much trouble to the ministers of the inquisition, whose vigilance equally extends to foreigners and natives. Since then religion, which is the main thing, and also good manners, are secure, there is not, in my apprehension, the least danger in other respects, I mean of their falling in with the humour of their parents, especially in favour of the country in which their ancestors were born. For it has been an observation made for many years past, that the generality of the Spanish children born or educated in Flanders or Italy, had always, and continue even to this day to have more regard for those countries than for Spain, and rather imitate the genius and customs of those nations than our own, notwithstanding it gives offence to their fathers. I know children in this city born of parents that were both foreigners, and educated under their eye, that are in their heart and manners more Spaniards than foreigners, I may add in language, for they chuse rather to speak the dialect of this kingdom, and are averse to their father's, though they hear nothing else at home but his native language. This does not sur-
prise

please me; when I consider what effect the place of
 our birth usually has, the great influence of the
 first acquaintance and society we contract in the
 world; either with the mistress of the family, men
 or maid servants, or boys of the same age in schools;
 at play, and upon other occasions. This influence
 is still greater, upon those born of Spanish mo-
 thers, whom foreigners generally marry; and it
 is my opinion these facts, and what is also ob-
 served in the Indies, have greater weight than the
 theory of those, who with tedious argument
 and speculation, oppose all attempts to people Spain
 by an introduction of foreigners. Their opposi-
 tion should not, I think, take place in regard to
 those that come to exercise mechanic arts and
 trades; especially as we may consider their chil-
 dren as native Spaniards, and therefore safe and
 loyal subjects to his majesty. Hence a settlement
 of foreigners can only be inconvenient, or prudent-
 ly resisted, in the case of public contracts and
 farming of the revenues, a thing prohibited by
 the laws of the kingdom; and the reason is, that
 in such employments they may gain such consid-
 erable sums, that after a decent maintenance in
 Spain they may send or carry away large sums to
 their own country. It is my opinion too, that
 notwithstanding persons that come over and settle
 here as merchants, may gain great fortunes, and
 even remit money to their own country, we can-
 not prevent their coming over, or traffick in Spain;
 without violating treaties of peace: and the only
 natural and gentle way to prevent its being done so
 much, would be an order, for the same artificers
 and workmen that in foreign countries manufac-
 ture the goods their merchants import and vend-
 here,

here, to come over, and for the future make them, in Spain; in particular, all woven commodities, small wares and toys. Thus the gains of such artificers being small in respect to each individual (as they are only the wages of day-labour, and usually not a recompense for the sweat of their brows), would remain in this kingdom, as they must be expended to maintain themselves with any decency or convenience. So that this reason invites us still more to desire, and promote with zeal and kind treatment the introduction I proposed of even, 200000 foreign catholicks, for the exercise of mechanic arts and trades. For though some of them, as merchants, might make large gains, the disadvantage would be abundantly repaired and made amends for, by its contributing towards that important affair I have recommended, of selling to other nations more than we buy of them.

CH A P. XV.

To keep our treasures at home is not only practicable, and much favoured by the constitution of Spain, but we may also draw money from other kingdoms, and detain it by the measures that shall be pointed out in this, and more at large explained in other chapters.

THE presumption, that by the help of many good manufactories in Spain, and working up our own plenty of valuable materials, we may detain not only our own money at home, but draw over a great deal from abroad, and keep it, ought not to appear strange; since it is done by every monarchy, republic or state, though not so happily prepared for it as we are, which has given sufficient

cient encouragement and support to commerce, in order to have the balance of trade in their own favour: and without it the most refined oeconomy and vigilance cannot prevent the extraction of so much money as is necessary to make up the deficiency there must be in the barter of commodities. In proof of this I shall produce some examples.

Between Sicily and Genoa there is a frequent and mutual traffick. Sicily abounds in silk and grain; of both there is great scarcity at Genoa, and to supply themselves they fetch every year large quantities of silk, as well as grain, from Sicily, whenever its usual plenty gives leave. As Sicily does not want merchandise of the Genoese to balance what they sell to Genoa, we find the Genoese traders obliged to make up the difference in money, and (not without great reluctance) to part with what they eagerly seek after, and labour to preserve. It is well known, that whenever they send to Sicily for silk and grain, they usually carry in their ships, as part of the ballast, chests full of ginovines, a silver coin, of standard and distinguished value all over Italy.

Since then it is found by experience, that the secret power of commerce is so great, and its natural circulation and motions so active and irresistible, as to force and tear away large quantities of their purest coin from a nation so frugal and sagacious as the Genoese; this instance is alone sufficient to lay a solid foundation for the maxim proposed, especially as we possess abundance of silk, wool and other materials, in great perfection, and may work them up; as also plenty of fruits, and our people are also naturally industrious, and qualified for such employments, as the experience of
whole

whole ages testifies. All these things are more than necessary to enable us to sell foreigners more than we buy of them, and oblige them to make up the balance of trade, that will then be in our favour, in ready money, or at least to leave off purchasing their goods, though they may have them to dispose of, because we no longer want them.

The Hollanders carry on an extensive commerce with Muscovy, Norway, and certain ports of the Baltic, but as the commodities they fetch from those parts are of higher value than what they transport thither, they ship large quantities of gold and silver coin of pure alloy, to make up the difference.

The English, Dutch, &c. for the same reason, export also large sums of money to the ports of Natolia, Palestine, Egypt and other dominions of the Turks; but generally manage thus, to order their ships bound to the Levant to touch at the ports of Leghorn, Marseilles or Genoa, where they are to traffic and collect Spanish dollars, or pieces of eight, that pass directly thither from Cadiz; besides what they themselves have brought directly from our Indies to their respective countries, and in part ship for these and other ports of the Levant, where the Dutch, English, &c. buy more than they sell.

The Ostend company, for their trade in East-India, and particularly China and Bengal, have, and still export our Mexican and Peruvian dollars, and also gold of good alloy and weight, which they buy up in Holland (where they also procure dollars stamp'd with 3 crowns, &c.) in sufficient quantities for the payments of the commodities purchased in those parts, well knowing, that the Chinese are very fond of silver, and do not set an equal

equal value upon gold. "In this specie the English carry on a large commerce, by exporting and giving silver in exchange for it, with a profit of 40 per cent. So that by such a traffick, after deducting expences and insurance, there remains to the English a neat profit of 30 per cent.

The Hollanders, speaking of their commerce with Spain, in a book intituled, *The trade and commerce of Amsterdam*, written by N. de l'Espine, and printed there in the year 1710, give a full account of the commodities they import into this kingdom, without mentioning coin, either silver or gold; but in the list of what they export from Spain, amongst other valuable commodities, they enumerate pearls, gold-dust, bars of silver and gold, and dollars or pieces of eight; which is a farther proof, that by managing so as to sell more than one buys, money will be extracted from all parts. This we have sufficiently experienced to our cost, other nations having found means to drain this kingdom of thousands of millions of dollars, that have been brought into Spain since the first discovery of the Indies, and to leave us so destitute of substance as we find ourselves, and I have already shewn to be our case.

There will be no want of persons to object, and say, that as we cannot supply the demands of the Indies with our own commodities, it is necessary that foreigners make up the deficiency; a natural consequence of which is, that as money is always seeking after the proprietors of the merchandize, so much as is equivalent to the value of it, must needs pass into their hands.

I am willing to suppose it a fact, and that a remedy cannot be provided; yet even in these cir-

circumstances, one might think of a way to come in, perhaps for a share of the profits of the trade in general; so that as our Indies yield us yearly 12 millions of dollars, foreigners might carry off but 6 millions, and the other six millions annually enter into the kingdoms of Spain, and continue there. Even this then, or a less share, would suffice to render the monarchy rich, populous, powerful and respected; but as the case now stands, and one cannot speak of it without grief, that if there comes 12 millions from the Indies, at least 8 millions of it pass to foreign kingdoms, directly shipped off from the ports of Andalusia, and most part of the 4 remaining millions, that are supposed to be introduced into Spain, scarce enter into it, but, as if they sought only for a passage, go likewise to other nations, in payment for merchandise we by our own fault purchase in larger quantities than we sell. So that of all the twelve millions we receive yearly, there scarce stays 100000 dollars in Spain, as may be proved from the thousands of millions we know to have come into Spain since the discovery of America, and the great scarcity of gold and silver its inhabitants now labour under; both which I have already proved in other chapters. And yet I apprehend it in our power to rescue ourselves from this lamentable distress, and unhappy disposal of our treasures, and even prevent the rivals and enemies of the monarchy, or any others, from sharing them with us, will we but take care as we ought, and what is in my opinion very practicable, to work up our own wool and silk; by doing which we should provide a sufficient quantity of fine cloths and silks to supply the consumption of these, and the

the kingdoms of America, as it has been proved in chapter 10, and have also a considerable surplus of these commodities, which with the wines, oyl, and soap, raisins and other fruits we abound with, would not only serve to barter with foreigners for linnen, bacalao, spicery and some other trifles, that we must have from them, but also yield us a considerable balance in money. Indeed, as to bacalao, and other salt fish, that comes from abroad, and of which the consumption is very great and chargeable to Spain, this might be greatly reduced, without any prejudice to the public, by such provisions as shall hereafter be explained.

As to spicery, of which there is also a great consumption, and with which the Hollanders and others supply both these kingdoms and the Indies, the Dutch by very long and hazardous voyages, sailing from Holland to the East Indies to fetch it, and returning back to Holland, afterwards transport it to Andalusia, and from thence to America, a navigation of above 13000 Spanish leagues, and a voyage almost twice round the globe of the earth, I am convinced, that were it not possible to reduce the consumption of it in Spain and America, we ourselves might carry on the principal part of the commerce of the said spicery, and supply both those, and these kingdoms, in the manner I shall recommend in another place,

C H A P. XVI.

Neither the present decay of our manufactures nor any other difficulties, that may be pleaded, ought to discourage us from cultivating them, or make us despair of improving and bringing them to perfection.

THERE are many persons, who have good intentions, and great skill in other affairs, and yet may never hit upon such policies, as are calculated to remedy certain evils, that befall a country, either from want of attention, or that partiality nature uses to shew in distributing perfections, who never consents to favour any single person so far as to invest him with skill in every science, or all the arts of government. Experience shews it to be the case of mankind; for we find few persons excell at the same time in two different branches of knowledge, and he who seems most favoured by nature, and by great industry has improved himself in the arts and policies of government, must be content to acquire a perfect mastery of one or two branches, and some general knowledge of the rest, that may perhaps qualify him to doubt, and ask others upon every occasion what inquiries may be requisite to sift each case to the bottom, in order to discharge his office, and perform those acts of supererogation, which his zeal for his king and country shall inspire him with; a task that, I think, is incumbent upon every faithful subject, who ought to let slip no opportunity of promoting the interest of both, after he has discharged the necessary duties of his

own office, or other employments that demand his first attention.

Many persons then who want skill to remedy certain evils, without considering that what one person is ignorant of, another even of inferior abilities may understand for the reasons given above, and because human life is so short, as to bear no proportion with what there is to study and learn ; these call impossible and insuperable difficulties every thing they do not comprehend, or take the trouble to examine thoroughly. Hence they discourage, give up, and by their opposition and gloomy language damp the zeal of others to remedy certain evils, a state may labour under. Thus it will be no wonder if these proposals meet with opposition from many that conceive or imagine difficulties where there are none, or condemn for an impossibility every scheme that is offered, and which may be carried into execution without injustice, and with advantage superior to the trouble we must be at. On this account I have been obliged to be more diffuse in several chapters, with a view to take off the objections many persons make against our attempt to revive commerce and some other things.

In other chapters I have already produced examples, that should be an encouragement, and also hinted the very favourable circumstances of our country and people, to invite and flatter us with its restoration and prosperity. However, more effectually to remove the objections of some persons that are most diffident, and give up themselves to the first difficulty, whether real or imaginary, I shall add, that the decay of our manufactures ought by no means to discourage us, since other nations
with

with less preparation, and fewer advantages have found out the way to establish, improve and preserve them in great plenty and perfection. A satisfactory proof of this point is, that the curious woollen manufactures, at this time so various and flourishing in England, were not introduced into that country till the reign of queen Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. who succeeded to the crown in the year 1558. Notwithstanding they had very good wool, it was sold to the Flemings, who converted it into cloth, and other woven goods, and acquired great advantages, that are visible. For the quantity of materials, that cost them a million of dollars, when wrought up come to be sold for 5 millions of dollars, as we are assured by the author of a book intitled, *The interest of England ill understood in the present war*, meaning that of the year 1704. It is added also by this, and other writers, that the queen, equally politic and vigilant, pursuing the advice and plan, laid down by that eminent merchant Sir Thomas Gresham, gave such powerful protection to manufactories, that many Flemish and other workmen invited by fair prospects went over to her kingdom, and she not only laid the foundation of manufactures, but also much improved them in number and quality. This great advantage was owing to the zeal and application of that princess, aided by the counsel and vigilance of the above eminent trader Sir Thomas Gresham; to whom, as a great benefactor to his country and the crown, they erected a statue in the exchange, where the merchants assemble to transact business, and to which they gave, and it still preserves, the name of Gresham*. Ever

* The author must mistake Gresham college, to be another name for the royal exchange.

since, England has enjoyed these very profitable manufactures, and they not only work up their own wool, but also that of other kingdoms, in particular a great quantity of Spanish wool; for the same author asserts, that they usually make of this alone to the amount of 30000 cloths one year with another, which at the rate of 100 dollars per piece amount to 3 million of dollars.

It has been already hinted, and will be farther explained in other chapters, how reduced, and sometimes wholly abandoned was this grand transaction of trade and navigation in France, before the middle of the seventeenth century; for their commerce never flourished considerably, but from the year 1660, when Lewis XIV. that great prince encouraged and raised it to the meridian glory we have seen it in.

Their naval force was in former ages inconsiderable, or rather many times entirely abandoned; but that glorious monarch raised and maintained it for many years in so eminent a degree, that in point of number and quality his fleets came to be superior to the English and Dutch who had been hitherto reckoned sovereign masters of the sea.

In Spain we have already begun, and with some rays of success carry on manufactures of silk, wool and other commodities. The great advantage of our materials, both in number and quality, is notorious to all the world; and there is as little want of genius or number of hands, as has been seen already. The protection of his majesty in favour of this important affair has been also evident from several decrees, he vouchsafed to publish, conducive to this design, and which will be taken notice of hereafter. So that what we now want is the constant

stant and vigilant care of a minister such as Lewis XIV. found in John Baptist Colbert. For this is the principal means to accomplish the great undertaking, and warrant its permanence, which is the hardest thing of all, and requires most attention. For the first orders and measures for such an establishment are to be considered but as seed sown, and there is need of the constant vigilance of the ministry to cultivate, dispose and improve the soil, and to root up or prevent the growth of brambles, or any obstacles that shall be thrown in the way; and the sovereign from the throne, like the sun in his sphere, is also powerfully to contribute with his gracious influence, protection and support, that those fruits may ripen, and be gathered, which are calculated to improve the monarchy, in the manner explained in the foregoing parts of this work.

C H A P. XVII.

Prohibitions and penal laws not sufficient to prevent extraction of gold and silver. Putting commerce upon a proper footing is the only means to do it.

IT is evident that penal laws or statutes cannot prevent the extraction of gold and silver, though they be severe as in this kingdom, and extend to forfeiture of life and effects. With so great rigour is the prohibition enforced here, and yet neither is nor can be observed in Spain, or any other kingdom under the same circumstances, as the experience of whole ages manifests. Nor can any other safe and effectual measure be discovered, than this, that Spain be no longer in debt to other nations, a point that is alone attainable by selling more than we buy of them, as it has been already supposed, and will often be repeated as the only remedy.

medy. Nor would indeed a permission to export this specie, much encourage its extraction, did there not concur other impulses of commerce to force it away by violence, whilst the utmost vigilance is insufficient to prevent it. Spain, for instance, is a full proof of this, which for some ages has had, and still continues the like rigorous prohibitions, and for a long time has had great and very vigilant princes and zealous ministers, that have done their utmost to have them punctually observed, but without success. First because it is impossible to set up gates to a country, that has so extensive a coast and frontier, as to exceed 600 leagues. In the second place, should there be on all the coasts and frontiers guards and centinels posted every hundred paces or nearer, and relieved every hour, according to the discipline of armies or garrisons (for which service a hundred thousand men would be insufficient) it would not be difficult to bribe some, nay many of them, to connive at this extraction, a thing that happens now to the royal guards, and was experienced in the years 1722 and 1723, with the soldiers and peasants employed, as guards of health. Their vigilance, though it could not be eluded by any malicious cunning, was often bribed by an interest, that must not be very great, considering the small amount of the cargoes of sugar, cacao, and other merchandise of lower value than money, that were introduced; and yet the importation of these and other commodities was prohibited under pain of death and confiscation. Moreover by way of caution there was a deputation of ministers invested with full authority, able and zealous, who by frequent meetings and all sorts of measures attended

tended to the punctual execution, and the speedy chastisement of all offenders, that should be caught. What shall we then say of the cargoes of wheat, that in those and other years frequently passed over into Portugal even at the time a cargo was worth but 50 reals, in contempt of the prohibitions? Since then for the trifling advantage of 15 or 20 reals, which they might gain by a fraudulent exportation of a cargo of grain, they find a way to corrupt, or impose upon the guards, what will they not attempt, and what is it they will not execute for the reward they are used to have for the exportation of gold and silver? Nor is it being threatened with pain of death, that can restrain them, while they find by experience, that this law, severe in its sanction, is gentle in its effects, as they never see it put in execution; besides the great difficulty there is in discovering and convicting offenders, as it has been observed before. Lastly, if in seven or eight ages we have not been able to enforce the execution by such severe laws often repeated, and revived, we ought not to expect to see it done in our times, except it be by substituting other, more natural, effectual and secure measures, such as have been proposed from a good regulation of commerce, in order to sell foreigners, more than we buy of them; and not by penal laws, prohibitions and guards at the ports and other places. However it is not my opinion, that on this account we repeal these rigorous laws, which in some measure scare and restrain this sort of delinquents. What I mean is, that, as this measure is too feeble, we ought not to trust to it alone, and that the only remedy, likely to succeed, is putting commerce upon a proper footing, which cannot flourish without many valuable

fabricks; and these cannot be augmented or subsist without the aid of indulgences, and a better regulation of the duties. So that it is evident without such a provision, the main spring that must give motion and force to the rest, we shall not be able to remedy this great and injurious extraction, as well as scarcity of gold and silver, which we suffer; as it is a clear consequence from this solid principle, that though the extraction of both metals, and even of coin itself, should be permitted, there would come in more than there goes out, and the kingdom become rich, whenever commerce shall flourish, whose powerful impressions happen to be the surest, and even the only method to preserve them. This is plain from what happens in England, where the exportation of gold and silver is allowable, and with good effect; for by certain circulations of commerce some portions are drawn out for the East Indies, Holland and other parts, as it has been observed, and are entered in the very custom-houses of England, and yet that kingdom is always very rich and powerful, for if by one port there goes out ten, by another comes in a hundred pieces. This proceeds from that nation's selling more to foreigners in general, than it buys. So that this will ever be the only method to attract, and detain more money in a kingdom than there goes out of it.

C H A P. XVIII.

The number of families in Spain.

THE number of people in every kingdom has so great a connection with the regulations of commerce, that I thought proper to insert here the amount of the families in every kingdom

dom and province of Spain; a piece of information that is particularly useful to such persons, as are willing to form just calculations of the consumption of commodities and eatables; and for other important services.

Years when
the Ac-
counts were
taken.

Account of the number of families in Spain.

1723.	{ The city of Madrid, in 8082 houses, exclusive of convents, hospitals, and other pious foundations, soldiery, and houses of foreign ministers }	30000
	{ District of Madrid - - - - - }	7680
	{ Kingdom of Toledo, and part of la Mancha - - - - - }	42987
	{ Province of Guadalaxara - - - - - }	16974
	{ Province of Cuenca, and part of la Mancha - - - - - }	40603
1710, &c.	{ Province of Soria - - - - - }	18068
	{ Province of Segovia - - - - - }	16687
	{ Province of Avila - - - - - }	10061
	{ Province of Valladolid, with some small districts - - - - - }	25939
	{ Province of Valencia, with some small districts - - - - - }	14582
1712.	{ Province of Salamanca, with some small districts - - - - - }	19344
1717.	{ Province of Toro - - - - - }	5525
1714.	{ Province of Zamora - - - - - }	7336
	{ Province of Burgos, with some small districts - - - - - }	49282
1710, &c.	{ Kingdom of Leon - - - - - }	28556
	{ Principality of Asturias - - - - - }	30524
1717.	{ Kingdom of Galicia - - - - - }	118680
1716.	{ Province of Estremadura - - - - - }	60393
	{ City of Sevil, from a general calculation made for extraordinary subsidies - - - - - }	13600
1712, &c.	{ The rest of the kingdom of Sevil - - - - - }	68244
	{ Kingdom of Cordova - - - - - }	39202
	{ Kingdom of Jaen - - - - - }	30157
	{ Kingdom of Granada - - - - - }	78728
1678.	{ Kingdom of Navarre - - - - - }	35987
	{ Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa, and Alava, according to extrajudicial accounts, the same as Navarre - - - - - }	35987
1717.	{ Principality of Catalonia - - - - - }	103360
1712.	{ Kingdom of Aragon - - - - - }	75244
1714.	{ Kingdom of Valencia - - - - - }	63770
1713.	{ Kingdom of Murcia - - - - - }	30494
	{ Kingdom of Majorca, with Ibiza, according to extrajudicial accounts, including the garrisons of Africa - - - - - }	21110
		<hr/>
		1,140103
		I have

I have not been able to find in any book or loose paper, a particular and exact account of the number of inhabitants of Madrid, nay only a general one, that makes it consist of 30000 families, which at the rate of six persons one with another, allowing for the more numerous families in the capital, will amount to 180000 persons. This information came to my hands in the year 1723 from a printed list, which the curiosity of a priest in this capital published, of the number of houses and families every parish contains according to the registers; and it is the only foundation I have for the 30000 families, which from this account are reckoned to be in Madrid. For though the paper published by the abovementioned priest does not rate them at more than 24344, in consideration of the more numerous families in the capital, they may I think be estimated at 6 persons one family with another at least; and by this calculation there comes out about 30000 families of 5 persons, which make 150000 souls. I imagine also that with the colleges, convents, and the rest of the ecclesiastics, hospitals and other pious foundations, together with the families of foreign ministers, they will amount to 180000 souls, exclusive of passengers, petitioners at court, carriers and others that usually fill the inns and public houses. However I have thought proper to put into the general account no more than the above 30000 families rated at 150000 souls because I shall hereafter place under a distinct head the ecclesiastics, hospitals, strangers, &c.

I am persuaded, in the accounts, whence these sums are taken, all the families of every place are not enumerated; for in some of the provinces they
were

were made by the corregidors and justices under an apprehension, that the draughted foldiers would be quartered, and extraordinary taxes laid upon them in proportion to the number of their inhabitants; and in others with an expectation of some charge or other laid upon them, and a dread of their being repeated, as it happened till the last peace. Thus it was very natural for them to diminish the number of inhabitants in these memorials, and they would do it perhaps without scruple, as they meant only to relieve and preserve those very towns, many of which, not able to pay the ordinary taxes, would be exposed to ruin by the weight and load of the extraordinary ones, which the pressing necessities of war occasioned. And in some of the accounts, it is evident, there are too few; for it is said at the head of the list, that it is only an account of the families able to pay to the subsidy exclusive of the poor, and two widows families are rated as one.

This might also be confirmed by other proofs, as I have compared some of these calculations with several districts about Madrid, and having got certain information of their number, have found in some of them an omission of above a fifth part, and in others even a fourth or a third. As to the lists of the number of inhabitants in Andalusia and elsewhere, I have compared them in like manner, with accounts sent me by persons very well acquainted with the very cities, villages and places, and find them fall short as much, but shall only give two instances. In the list of families in the kingdom of Sevil, there are only reckoned in Cadiz 4043 families that pay taxes, but persons very well acquainted with that city assure me, there are
above

above 40000 souls in it, which are equivalent to 8000 families. At the port of Saint Mary are set down 733 families, but I learn from persons of good understanding and credit that they exceed 1500. These considerations induce me to believe that one account with another the calculation is at least a fifth too low, so that if four fifths amount to 1,140,000 families, an addition of the other fifth, omitted in the accounts, will make the whole 1,425,000 families.

As the principal design of this calculation of the number of souls of every class or condition in the provinces of Spain, that a few more or less, may be subjects of his majesty, is to enable us to form regulations from the consumption, &c. and not to give a list of such as are able to contribute to the royal revenue, I have thought it incumbent upon me to add the soldiery under a distinct head, apprehending the four garisons in Africa to be considered, as if they were upon the continent of Spain, both as these towns and garisons consist of Spaniards, and in general are supported by the commodities and fruits of this kingdom.

In 102 regiments, including 5 of marines on board the fleet and gallies, and several single companies, that serve in the garisons of Africa, or in Spain, with 2000 invalids employed in fortresses, and other troops and half pay officers in the quarters of their respective corps, and in garison, his majesty maintains 65000 foot, including officers and soldiers; and in 30 regiments of horse and dragoons, 3 companies of body guards, a single detached company, and the troop of Ceuta, with the half pay officers at their respective corps, or in garison, there are above 15000 soldiers and offi-

cers. Both these sums make up an army of 80000 effective men.

To these may be added 6000 officers at least, consisting of such as are employed in superior posts in the provinces and fortresses, and officers in the fleet, artillery and others, that serve aboard the ships of war and in the galleys, exclusive of the marine regiments on board the fleet and galleys, that are accounted for elsewhere, which make in all 86000 effective men maintained by his majesty. To these are added 1200 gally-slaves, and the whole number paid by his majesty amounts to 87200 men.

To this sum must be added also 8000 militia, horse and foot, including those that guard and watch the coasts, who are also paid by his majesty; in the manner of veteran troops, whenever they are upon duty, besides certain immunities they always enjoy, and some of them also receive moderate pay, when out of actual service.

There are also 3000 invalids, exclusive of the 2000 detached, and in garison, who are maintained in 4 regiments and in quarters; 700 banished men employed in the works and service of the garisons, besides those that serve as soldiers, and are incorporated in the companies; about 1200, that are either soldiers widows, families in Oran, Moors at peace, or nominal soldiers; and also 500 persons, that upon a moderate calculation must be employed in the offices of war, such as paymasters, accomptants, commissaries of orders and war, inspectors, comptrollers, warders in the magazines of artillery and stores, and those employed in the hospitals and upon other commissions. So that his majesty maintains, and pays upon the score of

of war above 100,000 men, and the pay is fixed and regular to all of them, excepting the 8000 militia, and the marines, whose pay is sometimes suspended.

Of the above 100,000 persons, one may reckon at least 20000 with families, among those in places, officers and soldiers, as some of them are married, and others in high stations, such as captains-general of armies, and provinces, governors of fortresses, the king's lieutenants, lieutenant-generals, quarter-masters general, brigadier-generals, colonels, and others in the several military employments; as also their superior assistants, and private dependants, for notwithstanding these may be unmarried, they have a great number of servants in proportion to their rank and office. If then to each of the above 20000 supposed to have families we make an addition of 4 persons, one with another, they will amount to 80000, these added to the 100,000 in pay, make 180,000, and are equivalent to 36000 families, and if we add these to the 1,425,000 families above mentioned, both sums make 1,461,000 families.

I apprehend also that foreign ministers, consuls and traders of all denominations, who come hither in great numbers from several countries, and notwithstanding their residence be constantly here, and their commerce for the most part in Spain, are not included in the list of families by being considered as passengers, and many of them without fixed habitations, and may be rated at 8000 families. And as they are maintained by the produce of Spain, and mostly consume its commodities, and contribute to the royal revenue, and city imposts in both respects, they may be reckoned
+ amongst

amongst the inhabitants of Spain, as it is usually done in other kingdoms.

Of the 50000 shepherds or more that live upon the mountains and in the meadows tending upon the sheep, cows, &c. as they have been elsewhere calculated to be so many, we may consider at least 30000 of them not included in the roll of families above mentioned. These make 6000 families and added to the above sum the whole will be 1,475,000 families.

Numerous as the ecclesiastical state is known to be in Spain, both in seculars and regulars, and though the inhabitants of several cities and towns have been greatly reduced, there continues almost every where the same number and foundations of chapters, universities, parishes, colleges and convents, and in some parts new institutions. So that it will not be thought strange if the ecclesiastical state be reckoned at least a thirtieth part of the people in Spain, when we take in their servants and many of their relations, that live under the same roof, and are not comprehended in the roll of families, or personal contributions, and also those, whom the Abbeyes and other societies give salaries to, and employ in the cultivation, management, and charge of their estates, which are pretty numerous, and the hospitals, fraternities, and other pious foundations that are not comprehended in the above roll. As this addition produces above 50000 families the whole number of families in the provinces of Spain, together with Majorca, and exclusive of Portugal, amounts to 1,525,000 families, which is equivalent to 7,625,000 souls. However left in the calculation of any of these particulars we should have gone into an involuntary

tary excess, they are reckoned only 7,590,000 souls, in 1,500,000 families when we estimate the amount of the consumption.

In the numbers set down in the above list of families I have always taken the lowest calculation of every province, that has been communicated to me by persons well informed, and worthy of credit.

As to the several additions I thought necessary to be made to the general account of families, either to supply the omissions of each particular article, or to take in the ecclesiastical state, or on other motives, that are very obvious, but not easy to be ascertained, I have been guided by the most reasonable presumptions, and such hints and observations as I have collected from books and loose papers, as well as the conversation of men of sense and experience. However should any one think my proportions not well adjusted, he will be at liberty to determine for himself, and lay down such positions as shall appear to him more reasonable, and either advance or reduce them lower; for in calculations of this kind every man is his own judge, and may rate things according to his own conception. Nor do I doubt but there will be many persons, who by the assistance of better helps, and deeper penetration, will be able to approach nearer to the truth in these facts, that have not yet been ascertained, especially if there be taken larger, and more particular family rolls, than have hitherto appeared.

C H A P. XIX.

The nature, quality and produce of the royal revenues of Spain.

IF the above account of the number of families in Spain has any connection with commerce, I think the knowledge of his majesty's revenues from these kingdoms, the quality and distinct produce of each, according to the value they were of in the year 1722, to have no less. This account was sent me by persons of good understanding and credit, and is as follows.

ALCAVALAS.

The Alcavala is the oldest of the revenues, that constitute the royal patrimony. It was first imposed in the year 1341, and in the reign of Alonso XI. over Algecira, when certain cities granted him 20 per cent. upon every sale, truck or barter of commodities, and some time after the other cities of the 21 provinces, that make up the kingdom of Castile, agreed to give the king 10 per cent. In this form it now stands, and the vender pays it out of the money he receives.

This duty of the Alcavala was never rigidly exacted; at least since the imposition of the Cientos and Millones, so that in general scarce a moiety of it has been received. The manner of collecting is either by putting it under administration, or by stipulating a certain sum to be paid by each place in proportion to the trade and gains of the inhabitants, and then every town is obliged to answer for the sum adjusted, and it depends upon their own pleasure to admit the administration of it, or not, by paying only what shall be due from

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the sales made. The ecclesiastical state is concerned in the main part of this tax; for though it be free from it in such things, as are of their own produce or patrimony, yet as the Alcavala in general is laid upon the seller, this charge upon commodities proportionably raises the price of them. So that it is not only the laity, but also the ecclesiasticks, that are purchasers, who pay this duty.

TERTIAS REALES.

The Tercias Reales, or under another name, the Dos Novenos, or two ninths, is a portion of the tithes of the church, which the Popes granted first to the kings of Castile, in the year 1219, as a subsidy for the war with the Moors, for a limited number of years, and was continued from time to time, till his holiness in 1487 made it perpetual in favour of king Ferdinand and queen Isabella. This revenue is comprehended and goes always along with the Alcavala.

QUATRO UNOS POR CIENTO.

The states of the kingdom assembled in council have granted the duties of Quatro Unos. The first one per cent was given in the year 1639. The second in 1642. The third in 1656. The fourth in 1664. These are raised and charged in the same manner, as the Alcavala, because they are of the same quality without any distinction. Hence they are called an extension of the Alcavala, and collected the same way.

MILLONES.

The subsidy of 24 Millones commenced in the year 1601, by a grant of the kingdom. They consist of an eighth of the wine, which is collected for his majesty's use, besides 64 maravedis upon every arrob of wine, and other imposts upon flesh,

oils, tallow candles, and soap. It is collected, either by the towns administering, or farming them, in case they can agree, at a certain sum proportioned to their respective harvests, and consumptions. Thus their doing it or not depends upon their own choice, the same rule being observed as in the administration of the Alcavalas and Cientos. To the 19 Millones and half the ecclesiastical state contributes by a bull from his holiness. The subsidy of the Millones has been since extended to paper, salt fish, &c. under the shape set forth in the rules or account of this subsidy Millones, and its conditions. This revenue, with the Alcavalas and Cientos above-mentioned, are, and have been hitherto farmed, because experience has sometimes shewn that from their having been under administration on the king's account great prejudice has ensued to the royal revenue, and even to the very towns by the deficiencies and the debts they contracted, most of them occasioned by the failure of the officers who were to receive and pay, and for which they were allowed six per cent. and accounts were to be given in and settled, as often as it should be necessary. It is to be observed that the Millon laid upon foreign paper, sugar and salt fish, is alone charged at their entry into the custom-house.

SERVICIO ORDINARIO, and EXTRAORDINARIO.

The Servicio Ordinario, and Extraordinario is an annual subsidy of 441176 crowns, levied upon the persons of those families of the kingdom in general, who pass under the name of Pecheros, or commoners; because none of the Hijosdalgos, or gentry pay to this tax, and it neither admits of

increase or abatement, but is a stated sum, and its origin very ancient.

SERVICIO DE MILICIAS.

The Servicio de Milicias is a subsidy, imposed upon most part of the provinces of the kingdom, and is a Ducat Vellon upon every family. It raises 318000 crowns yearly, and was appropriated to the subsistence of the provincial regiments*.

FIEL MEDITOR.

The duty of Fiel Meditor is 4 Maravedis upon every arrob of wine, which is charged according to the measure, and raises yearly between 30 and 40 thousand crowns.

The revenues hitherto mentioned are stiled provincial, and comprehend such as are actually farmed, and have been all collected jointly, in order to avoid the prejudices that ensue both to the king and the respective towns by their being managed by several and distinct hands; and by this consolidation the collecting of all is but the same expence as of one; and it is the main foundation of the advance of them, when last farmed, and has been found to be of universal advantage. In the above year 1722 their value stood as in the following table. Except these, no other are farmed, the rest being under administration, and are collected in the manner set forth under the following heads.

PAPEL SELLADO.

In the year 1637 was laid a duty upon stamp paper used in every process of law, prohibiting its being done, as it was formerly, upon common

* By the decree of January the 10. 1724. this tax with some others was taken off to relieve the common people.

paper; and during the war its value was augmented above half; it is received at the time of sale.

MEDIA ANNATA.

In 1631 was imposed the duty of Media Annata upon pensions, which is half a year's income, and a third of the profits of the offices and pensions, granted by his majesty. It is charged and received at the time of making out the warrant.

ADUANAS.

The revenue of the Aduanas or customs, &c. is a duty of 15 per cent. charged in every port of Spain upon the merchandise and goods brought in and it is paid at their importation. The same duty is upon all exports.

SERVICIO and MONTAZGO.

The revenue of Servicio and Montazgo upon the flocks of sheep in the kingdom commenced in 1457, and is a tax laid upon the flocks, that come into, or go out of the pastures at the end of winter and spring, and also those that go out of the towns, where they shall have stayed some time, though they return to the same place again. This duty is paid by the drovers, that go to sell, or buy at fairs, or markets, or any other places whatsoever.

SALINAS.

The revenue of salt arises out of the prices his majesty orders it to be sold at on the account of the crown, and in Andalusia and New Castile is actually at the rate of 36 reals*; in Old Castile at 31 reals; and in Galicia at 27 reals, these sums including the 13 reals lately imposed. Besides this, there is a charge for the carriage of the salt which in many parts considerably raises the price. This revenue and the customs have hitherto been farm-

* In the year 1722.

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ed, but are now under administration of the controller of the finances, which has considerably improved their value.

TOBACCO.

The revenue of Tobacco consists also in the monopoly, the king reserves to himself of this commodity, ordering it to be sold on the account of the crown. It is under the administration of a superintendant.

VALIMIENTOS.

Of the Valimientos, which his majesty during the last war established, there now subsists but a third, and a tenth of the herbage of the pastures of private persons, and the excises and personals of Madrid.

LANZAS.

The subsidy of Lanzas is a tax, all persons possessed of titles are to pay, of 60 doblons each person, instead of 20 lances they were obliged to provide the king in time of war. A compromise of this sum was made in the year 1631.

ESTAFETAS, and POSTS.

Most of the Estafetas were sold to the family of the Count de Onnate; but his majesty giving an equivalent to the Count's family, re-invested them in the crown, and as this tax is administered on the account of the royal revenue, it is conducted by a superintendant.

CORONA DE ARAGON.

Since the abolition of the statutes of the crown of Aragon, and the establishment of the laws of Castile, there has been a certain sum charged upon the kingdoms the former consists of, and of late years they raised the following sums.

Catalonia

	Crowns de Vellon.
Catalonia - - - - -	1,350,000
Aragon - - - - -	500,000
Valencia - - - - -	750,000
Majorca - - - - -	48,000
	<hr/>
	2,648,000
	<hr/>

In these kingdoms was also established the tax upon salt, tobacco, stamp paper, and the customs. For while their statutes were in force, his majesty had only from those kingdoms certain Diezmós or tenths, &c. stiled patrimonial.

Besides the above revenues, his majesty possesses the Cruzada, Subsidio, and Escusado; personals of Navarra: the Consejo de Ordenes and Castilla; the contract for Negroes; the Indultos on Flotas, Galeons, Cruzada, and subsidy of the Indies, which are large and go into the amount; some are fixed, others rated by estimation.

The produce of the Alcavalas, Cientos, Millones, and others called provincial revenues, is first given with the distinct quota of each kingdom and province, to which is added the general amount of his majesty's revenues, with an account of their annual value.

An account of the provincial revenues of Spain; to wit, the Alcabalas, Quatro unos per Cent. Tercias, Millones, Servicio Ordinario, and Extraordinario, Servicio de Milicias, and Fiel Medidor, in the Year 1722.

Provinces.	The whole value in Maravedis de Vellon.	Amount of pensions.	Net value to the king.
Avila	64,746,863.	14,794,254.	49,952,609.
Burgos	158,690,224.	31,553,256.	127,136,928.
Cordova	123,747,029.	16,329,922.	107,217,107.
Cuenca	90,771,114.	17,233,786.	73,537,328.
Extremadura	153,682,971.	21,475,616.	132,209,355.
Granada	281,391,128.	51,139,856.	230,251,266.
Galicia	175,547,464.	35,979,348.	140,468,116.
Guadalajara	48,328,416.	8,119,005.	40,209,411.
Jaen	93,944,891.	14,202,878.	79,741,013.
Leon	101,320,209.	17,269,167.	84,051,132.
Madrid	219,461,906.	66,955,512.	153,406,394.
Murcia	59,691,605.	9,486,968.	50,204,637.
Mancha	77,251,179.	14,146,782.	63,104,397.
Palencia	52,627,191.	13,670,101.	38,957,090.
Sevilla	358,380,449.	61,881,438.	296,499,011.
Salamanca	66,633,347.	15,367,913.	51,065,434.
Segovia	87,872,802.	18,084,434.	69,788,368.
Soria	37,809,534.	6,630,116.	31,179,418.
Toledo	197,502,616.	52,979,313.	144,523,303.
Toro	40,282,267.	9,236,575.	31,045,692.
Valladolid	109,247,386.	21,176,490.	88,070,890.
Zamora	25,338,164.	6,697,534.	18,640,630.
In Aragon	170,000,000.		170,000,000.
In Catalonia	459,000,000.		459,000,000.
In Valencia	255,000,000.		255,000,000.
In Majorca.	16,320,000.		16,320,000.

	The whole value.	Amount of pensions.	Net value.
Total amount from the crown of Castile.	2624,268,839.	523,013,310.	2101,255,529 mrs.
Ditto of the crown of Arragon.	900,320,000.		900,320,000.
Total of both crowns	3524,588,839.	523,013,310	3001,575,529.

In Crowns de Vellon.

Total of the crown of Castile.	7,718,437.	1,538,274.	6,180,163.
Ditto of the crown of Arragon.	2,648,000.		2,648,000.
Of both crowns.	10,366,437.	1,538,274.	8,828,163.
	The whole value.	Pensions deducted.	Net value to the king.

An account of the value of each distinct branch of his majesty's revenues, in the year 1722, deducting both the amount of the pensions, and also the costs and charges of administration.

	Crowns de Vellon.
Provincial revenues, deducting the amount of the pensions, together with the contributions of Catalonia, Aragon, València, and Majorca	8,828,163.
Customs, or revenues general, under administration	2,264,709.
Lesser revenues general, farmed	237,635.
Revenue of tobacco	2,427,803.
Revenue of salt	1,700,000.
Stamp paper	215,436.
Media Annata on places and pensions	89,195.
Yervas of the soldiery	51,117.
Maestrazgos	4,044.
Valimientos de Yervas	260,212.
Personals, and excises of Madrid	235,296.
Servicio de Lanzas	50,000.
Estafetas and Posts	248,406.
Tercios, Diezmos, and patrimonial revenues in Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, and Majorca	182,031.
Efectos of the chamber, by calculation	30,200.
Revenues of the priory of St. John	22,907.
Remounting the horse	20,000.
Cruzada, Subsidio, and Escusado of the kingdom	1,400,000.
Contract for negroes	300,000.
By calculation	18,592,889.
Servicio and Montazgo upon flocks	75,000.
Pensions from the church to the Hospitales Militares	18,000.
Personals of Navarre	100,000.
Cruzada and Subsidio, produce of quicksilver, and other revenues from the Indies, which come regularly to Spain, and are constant in their value	2,000,000.
Indultos, and freights of the galleons and register-ships, at their going out and return from the Indies, tonnage, certain free gifts, and other advantages, usually amounting to	2,000,000.
What Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, Estremadura, and other provinces pay yearly for beds, furniture, light, and wood, in the military quarters and posts, including the quarters of the officers in Catalonia, and straw for the horse, are calculated to be about	750,000.
Crowns de Vellon yearly	23,535,889.

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In this account is not included the king's duty upon coinage, and other branches of the revenue from the mint, nor that of the Moneda Forera, because its produce is very inconsiderable, though it be a heavy load upon the common people from the manner and charge of collecting.

I am not to forget, that the present year 1724 there may be a decrease in these revenues from the relief his majesty, out of his paternal affection, has been pleased to dispense to his dutiful subjects, by a royal edict of the 10th of January in the same year, ordering, that from the first day of the said month and year, the Valimiento of the third part of the Yervas should cease; that the subsidy de Milicias, and Moneda Forera should be suppressed and taken off, and all the arrears due upon the Servicio Ordinario and Extraordinario, as also that the arrears of the Milicias, Reales Casamientos, and Moneda Forera be in general remitted, and a few days before his majesty was pleased to grant a discharge of the Valimiento of the Efectos, and Sisas of Madrid. On both which occasions his majesty shewed, that he gave these indulgences as soon as the necessities of the state, and the condition of his exchequer permitted, and was in hopes of affording greater relief to his faithful subjects.

Though it be apprehended there will be found for the present some reduction of the revenue in proportion to these indulgences, one may expect, after the people have enjoyed this relief for some time, the consumption of fruits and commodities will receive an augmentation, and the produce of the other revenues be enlarged in proportion. But without any expectation of such an equivalent, I

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am persuaded, a considerable part of this deficiency will be made up by the great increase the revenue of tobacco has received, since this account was made. There are also persons of experience and public spirit, who aver, that were proper rules and measures established for the improvement, administration and vent of the fine tobacco, from the Havanna, this revenue might be raised to 5 or 6 millions of crowns by the greater consumption there would be of it, both in his majesty's dominions, and in foreign countries, where it is very much admired and sought after, in particular what is washed and manufactured at Sevil. But as to the regulations on this head, I shall be content to relate what I have heard from ministers of good understanding, without obliging myself to deliver my own judgment, since I am not sufficiently prepared to speak upon this subject.

It is also very probable, after the Spanish trade in Europe is encouraged and takes effect, and the traffic which may be carried on between these kingdoms, and those of America, is enlarged, that his majesty's revenues will in time be augmented to so great a degree, as to be no surprise if they should amount to near 40 millions of crowns, and the people at the same time be much relieved.

C H A P. XX.

Reasons for giving examples of states well conducted and skilful in commerce; and the preference to those of France in the reign of Lewis the great, before I propose any particular measures to make commerce flourish in Spain.

Notwithstanding the regulations recommended in the general, for the duties upon commodities and materials, exported and imported, which I shall hereafter particularise, are found to be grounded upon reason, and the several motives already laid down, my proposal must stand a severe tryal from the opposition every new scheme usually meets with, let it be ever so advantageous to the public, or the prince; for emulation, a thing too common in all courts, will easily resist and thwart what another has thought of and suggested. With certain tempers it is a sufficient inducement, that it was not originally their own plan and conception; to disapprove and constantly oppose any scheme, even while in their own hearts they are convinced by the arguments that support it; unhappy spirit of cavilling, that usually sacrifices the service of a monarch and the public interest to the indulgence of passion and private views, while they no less give up conscience, and the character and reputation of good men. Upon these considerations, and above all the little account or low conception, that may be entertained of my judgment in matters of so great importance, I have thought proper to defend it by examples drawn from France, England and Holland, whose rules in this instance cannot fail of being received, at least in general,

as very prudent and worthy of imitation, since it is by means of them they have found out a way to extend and preserve the commerce, riches, plenty and splendor, they now enjoy, and also render themselves respectable by their land and naval armaments all over the world; while on the contrary, by our neglect and mismanagement, Spain is always oppressed, and in some measure despised for its weakness. Nor am I certain that our lamentable situation merits the name of a misfortune, so much as of a chastisement for our negligence and blindness, in the affair of commerce and other matters of importance, since we find many capital errors as it were rooted and entailed upon us by our laws and ordinances. In these it is provided, permitted, and ordained, that imports and exports pay an equal duty; a like equality is observed in respect to materials, and we slight the distinction foreign powers so prudently make and act up to, as I have already hinted; and the examples I am to produce elsewhere, will amount to a full proof of it.

In my narrative of the conduct of other kingdoms in this important affair, France merits the first place for many reasons, and in particular for the safe precedents Lewis XIV. has transmitted to posterity in his long and most prudent reign. For notwithstanding former ages gave great kings to that crown, none equalled this glorious monarch in provisions for and a good management of trade and navigation, and in armaments by sea and land. By these he acquired, and for a long time maintained the sovereignty of the sea, conquering the powerful and united fleets of England and Holland in the year 1690; and he so improved and advanced

ced navigation and commerce, that by these two powerful aids, he was enabled without impoverishing his subjects to raise and maintain for many years above 300,000 well disciplined troops, including 80,000 very fine horse; while at the same time he fitted out above 100 large ships of war, and 40 gallies, and furnished above 100 strong garisons with stores and ammunition, possessed many fine ports in both seas; and with ease found supplies for all the extraordinary demands of long and expensive wars against the principal powers of Europe. What cannot the application of a great monarch, faithfully served by his ministers do! Wonderful are these events in a kingdom of less extent than Spain, credible only in the age that saw, and to be questioned by posterity, that shall hear of them; and yet they are very natural effects of a commerce well planned and better executed, and what every monarch without presumption may flatter himself with, who will turn his thoughts to this most interesting branch of state policy, and is supported by faithful ministers.

Let us then see how that great king, who so well knew how to gain his purposes planned and put in execution his noble provisions in this important affair; the origin and main spring of the vast power, riches, and strength, his kingdom acquired, and which proved him superiour to all the great princes, whose names are registred in his palace, or transmitted down in the genealogy of his ancestors.

C H A P. XXI.

The practice of France in regard to the duties upon exportation, and importation of commodities, materials, fruits, &c.

BY the tariff of 1664 his most christian majesty laid a duty of 70 livres, which make 350 reals upon the importation of 30 French yards of Spanish cloth equal to 40 Castilian yards; and 40 livres upon a piece of 25 yards of cloth from Holland or England; and at the same time permitted 30 French yards of French cloth to be exported, upon paying only 30 sols, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ reals Vellon*.

By the tariff of 1667 he ordered 30 French yards of Spanish cloth imported to pay 100 livres, which amount to 500 reals; and cloths from England or Holland 80 livres per piece of 25 French yards; but the duty on French cloths exported continued on the foot of $7\frac{1}{2}$ reals. If then we value 30 French yards of Segovian cloth, (which is somewhat above 40 Castilian) at 120 dollars, it pays 28 per cent. upon its importation into France, while fine French cloths exported, 30 French yards of which are worth at least 150 dollars from their fine quality, is charged only half per cent; for if we value a piece at 150 dollars, it pays only 30 sols, equal to half a dollar.

By the tariff, adjusted between France and Holland in the year 1699, the duties upon cloths from Holland imported into France were reduced to 55 livres, instead of the 40 and 80 imposed in the

* When the French coin is in its due proportion, five reals Vellon make a livre; a livre contains 20 sols; 4 sols make a real Vellon, and a sol is somewhat above two quartos. Three livres make a dollar, and 12 livres a debion.

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years 1664 and 1667; but it appears that the duty of 100 livres or 500 reals laid in 1667 upon 30 yards of Spanish cloth still continued, and several other commodities fared no better; at the same time that 30 French yards of fine cloth of Carcassonne, which is as good or better than that of Segovia, and measuring 40 Castilian yards, are imported into Spain by our tariff of 1709 on payment only of 80 reals, in lieu of the 500, charged upon ours in France. As then our cloths pay there at the rate of 28 per cent. and theirs pay but $4\frac{1}{2}$ reals per cent. here, when equal in quality and measure, excepting those of Alby and Sedan, which are much finer, and more valuable, and on that account pay something more at their importation into Spain.

By the tariff of 1664 it is ordered, that a pair of silk stockings imported into France pay 4 reals Vellon, and but one exported; and by the tariff of 1667, that they pay 10 reals imported, but the duty of one real per pair exported, still continued; so that 20 per cent. was charged upon imports, and but 2 per cent, upon exports, valuing each pair at 50 reals Vellon.

By the tariff of 1664, it was settled that watered or unwatered tabbies imported pay 150 reals per quintal, and 35 exported.

That a quintal of cards imported pay 15 reals Vellon, and only 5 exported.

That gold and silver lace mixed with silk imported, pay 25 reals per pound weight, and only $7\frac{1}{2}$ exported.

That gold and silver stuffs, the rich as well as middle and inferior sorts, be charged 30 reals per pound on importation, and but 10 reals exported, and

and by an arret, July 13. 1692, leave is given to export them upon paying 4 reals per pound ; a duty that does not amount to half per cent.

That fine lace imported pay 150 reals per pound, and 2 reals exported ; and by the tarif of 1667 the duty upon importation was advanced to 250 reals, whilst that upon exports continued upon the same foot of 2 reals per pound.

By the said tarif of 1664, it is ordered that silks imported pay 15 reals per pound, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ exported.

That a horse, whose value should not exceed 30 dollars, pay 15 reals upon importation, but those of a higher price, 100 reals one with another.

Horses, he and she mules for the saddle or burden, 30 reals exported ; and if they were small, and designed for labour, 10 reals.

Muskets, pistols and other fire arms imported 10 reals per quintal, and 15 exported.

Gunpowder imported 15 reals per quintal, and 20 exported.

N. B. The 4 last articles are inserted to shew, that France trades even in horses, arms and gunpowder in imitation of Holland, Germany, Sweden, and other well governed states, because money is gained by this traffick, and this well managed gives law to the world, both in peace and war.

Fine tapestries imported, pay 600 reals per quintal, and 665 exported ; and by an arret of 1667 the duty upon importation was advanced to 1000 reals per quintal.

By the above tarif of 1664 it is ordered, that a quintal of paper imported pay $7\frac{1}{2}$ reals, and but 4

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exported; and by an arret of July 13. 1692, every ream of paper imported is charged $7\frac{1}{2}$ reals Vellon, which is above 200 reals per quintal; but the former duty of 4 reals per quintal laid upon exports still continued, which does not reach one and a half per cent.

It is ordered by the same tarif of 1664, that white soap imported pay $17\frac{1}{2}$ reals Vellon per quintal, and 4 exported; and by the tarif of 1667, a quintal imported pays 40 reals.

By the tarif of 1664 it was settled, that cristals imported pay 125 reals per quintal, and only 15 exported; and his most christian majesty afterwards, in consideration that the great quantity of cristals imported, and mostly for superfluous ornaments drained the kingdom of large sums, and was a discouragement to the fabrick of cristals in France, laid a duty of 2000 reals per quintal upon imports, whilst the duty upon exports continued on the old foot of 15 reals per quintal.

Arret of June 7. 1701.

His most christian majesty being informed that the duty of 50 reals Vellon per quintal, which the linnens of Marigny, and other parts about Coutance in the province of Normandy paid upon exportation, was a discouragement to the trade in this commodity at Cadiz for the Indies, reduced the duty to $17\frac{1}{2}$ reals per quintal; which is not one per cent of its value. This reduction afterwards extended to other linnens in those parts.

Arret

Arret of September 20. 1701.

His majesty in consideration of the great decrease in the exportation of ivory, shell and other sorts of combs, made in France for Spain, Italy and Portugal, a traffick that brought large sums into his dominions, and also employed a great number of hands in the craft, ordered with a view to recover, and preserve this branch of trade, that they should pay only 10 reals Vellon per quintal upon exportation, in lieu of 5 per cent of their value, charged upon them before, so that the new duty fell short of half per cent *.

Arret of December 24. 1701.

It was represented to his most christian majesty by his royal council of commerce, that it would be an effectual means to encourage and enlarge the commerce of his majesty's subjects, as well as the fabricks of the kingdom, and at the same time favour the exportation of their own manufactures, provided the duties upon the exportation of some of the principal commodities, that should be manufactured in his majesty's dominions, were wholly taken off, and those upon others reduced lower, it being certain that such indulgences and abatements, far from turning out to the prejudice of the royal revenues, would considerably augment them,

* A quintal in France regularly consists of a hundred pounds of 16. oz. A hundred Paris pounds weigh somewhat more than a hundred Castilian pounds of 16 ounces, but this difference is too trifling to be taken notice of in these regulations.

from the greater quantities of merchandise sent abroad, by means of this exemption from the duties upon exports, which would cause a greater consumption of materials, whose duties upon importation would be considerably augmented, and the revenue, that would have been received upon exports, be made amends for; and also, as the commodities, upon which the duty of exportation should be reduced, would be sent abroad in larger quantities to foreign parts, this increase would yield a revenue, equal at least to that of the small quantity before exported, and which paid the higher duties then chargeable. Upon these considerations he ordered that all gold and silver tissue, ribbons, sattins flowered and plain, velvets, damask flowered with gold and silver, and all other gold and silver stuffs; as also silks, velvets, sattins, damasks, taffatas, ribbons, and all other silks whatsoever, be exported out of France free of duty.

And that stuffs made of thread, hair or wool, mixt with silk; cloths, and other stuffs of wool, or hair, or mixt; linnens, &c. as also hats, be exported paying only a moiety of the duties charged by the tariff of 1664. So that 30 French yards of fine cloth, by this last regulation, is charged something less than 4 reals per piece upon exportation, which is not a quarter per cent. It was also permitted, that paper, white, grey, blue, and other colours, printed books, cards and paste-board, should be exported out of the kingdom free of duty; and though afterwards at the instance of the farmer-general of the revenue, some alteration was made in respect to their being exported duty free, the duties upon exports still remained upon a very moderate

moderate footing, since many of these commodities paid not one per cent.

By an arret of July 14. 1703, it is observed, that as it had been represented to his most christian majesty, that since the late union between the two crowns of Spain and France, there had been set up in his kingdom manufacturies of bays, perrets and serges, calculated for the commerce of Spain and America, in imitation of those made in England, of which there was great consumption in the Spanish dominions; and that these new fabricks of France were in equal perfection with the English, and if they could be sold at the same price, a considerable trade might be opened for them in Spain, and that to gain this point it would be convenient to free them from all duty upon exportation, as they do in England upon such as are shipped for Spain; or at least to reduce the duty lower, in order to enable them to supply the Spaniards at the price the English do: From these motives his most christian majesty, by the above arret, permitted the said woven commodities to be exported out of the kingdom, upon payment only of $2\frac{1}{4}$ reals Vellon per quintal; a duty so trifling, that it does not amount to half per cent of its value, so that it would be no obstruction to the commerce, or exportation.

Other examples of the customs in France upon materials, &c.

BY the tarif of 1664 it is ordered, that ~~less~~ of gold and silver be entered free into France, but that gold and silver wrought be exported by a passport, and pay 6 per cent.

That Brasil wood and other materials for dying imported, pay 3 reals per quintal, and exported be charged 5 reals per quintal.

That moulds and letters for printing pay 15 reals per quintal imported.

That hemp prepared for spinning pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ reals per quintal imported, and $12\frac{1}{4}$ reals exported.

That crude hemp in bundles pay 2 reals per quintal imported, and $7\frac{1}{4}$ exported.

That white wax (which is considered as a manufacture) be charged 50 reals per quintal imported, and 20 exported; and yellow wax (which is reckoned in some measure a material, because it yields a large profit to those that compound and blanch it) pay 20 reals imported, and 30 exported. But his most christian majesty, being willing to favour still more the blanchers and refiners of wax in his kingdom, decreed by an arret of February 3. 1708. that white wax pay 100 reals per quintal imported, leaving the duty upon yellow wax as before, at 20 reals per quintal imported; and that all white wax exported should pay no duty.

That shears, for shearing cloths, imported, pay 5 reals, and 25 exported, upon account of their being tools necessary for the manufactories.

That

That a pound of sewing filk (which is already in some sort a manufacture, besides the charge of dying) should pay 5 reals imported, and 3 exported; but raw filk, a mere material, pay but three fourths of a real per pound imported, and 5 reals exported.

That a quintal of wool imported should pay 10 reals, and 75 exported; and by an arret of March 16. 1688. his most christian majesty, in consideration that the vast exportation of wool to foreign countries was a great prejudice to the manufactories of the kingdom, laid a duty of 100 reals upon every quintal exported; whilst the small duty of 10 reals upon its importation was continued.

C H A P. XXIII.

Several other provisions in France in favour of manufactories and trade.

BY an arret of May 28. 1697. the exportation of old linnen, rags, &c. was prohibited, as it was prejudicial to their own fabricks of paper and cards, under the penalty of confiscation, and a fine of a 1000 dollars, one moiety thereof to the informer.

By an arret of 1687. his most christian majesty prohibited the exportation of thread out of the province of Britany in order to support the linnen manufactories of that province, and by another of May 25. 1700. confirmed this prohibition, and forbad also the exportation of flax and hemp under the penalty of confiscation of these commodities; as also trooper's horses, barks, ships and other vessels, under a fine of 500 dollars for

the first offence, and a severer chastisement upon a repetition; and in case of their being shipped for other provinces of France, that they be obliged to give bond to bring a certificate in the space of 2 months, under the penalty of paying double the value of what they shall have shipped, and 500 livres more.

His most christian majesty, sensible that small quantities of iron and steel were imported for the wares usually made of these two materials, ordained, by an arret of April 2. 1701, that steel should pay only 15 reals per quintal imported, instead of the 30 it paid before, and iron in bars 9 reals per thousand weight, instead of 65 reals; and it being expedient for the same reason that the importation of this material is encouraged, that the exportation of it should be discouraged, he therefore ordered 50 reals to be charged upon a thousand weight exported.

That a lock imported pay $7 \frac{1}{2}$ reals, and only one exported; and in the same proportion he regulated the duties upon the other wares of iron and steel.

In the subsidy, lately established in France, called the tenth penny, there was an exception in favour of the inhabitants of Lyons by an arret of July 1712. for the sake of trade and encouragement of industry, lest there be a decay in those curious and rich manufactures, that are so much valued and purchased in all the four quarters of the world.

To encourage the woollen manufactures of Languedoc, and facilitate their vent in the east, his most christian majesty, by an arret of October 3. 1712. granted the manufacturers, and merchants

inhabitants of that province an exemption from the duty upon cochineal imported, as far as 216 quintals annually, under certain restrictions.

Sensible of the bad quality of the silk brought to France from the East Indies and China, and that the commodities made of it, were very defective, and brought under disreputation such as were made in the kingdom of good French, Spanish or Italian silk, the importation of silk from China, or the Indies, as well as the silks from those parts, was prohibited by an arret of March 13. 1714.

His most christian majesty desirous that the province of Languedoc be well supplied with wooll for their manufactories, by an arret of April 7. 1714. prohibited the buying up wool in the said province to send abroad, under pain of confiscation and a fine of 1000 dollars.

His majesty in consideration there was great quantity of grain in Languedoc the last harvest, and a favourable prospect of fine crops the next season, by an arret of August 1703 permitted them to export grain to foreign countries free of all duty.

By an arret of September 9. 1713. his most christian majesty granted an exemption from the duties of imports for ten years upon bacalao, and oyls that should proceed from the fishery of his own subjects, in L'isle Royal, before called the island of cape Breton, in order to encourage the trade and fishery, but under certain restrictions.

And by another arret of December 30. 1713. his most christian majesty permitted such of his own subjects as were engaged in the fishery of bacalao, to export free of duty the stores, arms,

ammu-

ammunition, utensils, wine and provisions, that should be shipped on board the vessels employed in the said fishery, as also the salt necessary to cure their fish.

C H A P. XXIV.

Penalties and precautions against smugglers, and other provisions.

Note, these penalties are not proposed as examples for our imitation in all their rigour, but only to put us in mind of providing such as shall seem more justifiable.

BY the royal ordinance of 1687. several penal laws were enacted against the guards, &c. that should have an understanding with the merchants to favour frauds; and by another of September 20. 1701. it was enacted, that every trader or merchant, concerned in defrauding the king of his duties should be declared infamous, and incapable of any business or traffick during life; in consequence of which they were prohibited carrying it on, it being also enjoined, that no persons whatever should have any commerce or correspondence with them in point of trade; and that their shops should be walled up, their coats of arms and titles erased, and their names and surnames written upon a tablet, to be set up in the hall or court of consular jurisdiction, if there be one in the same town, and if not, in that nearest to it; that their factors, agents, (not traders or merchants) the carriers, and others, that should be concerned in these frauds, be exposed to publick shame in the pillory, during three market days; and

and that the receivers, comptrollers, overseers, guards and others employed in the custom-houses, accomplices also in these frauds, be condemned to the galleys for 9 years, and their places confiscated to the use of his most christian majesty.

The penalty of death is also by other ancient edicts denounced against the officers of the revenue, that have made, or shall cause to be made false registers, or have given false copies of them, signed with their own hand; or counterfeited the hand of the judges, and other commissioners.

That any private person, on whom the crown has a demand, who shall have counterfeited the marks of persons employed in the custom houses, their licenses, receipts, passports, certificates, and other instruments, be condemned for the first time to be whipped and banished for 5 years, with a fine that shall not be less than a fourth part of his effects; and in case of his offending a second time, to the galleys for 9 years, with a fine that shall not be less than a moiety of his effects.

By an arret of July 21. 1699. it is ordered that Flanders lace be not brought into France, except it be entered in the custom-house of Peronne, under pain of confiscation, and a fine of 3000 livres.

By an arret of April 20. 1700. it is decreed that silk or woollen stockings brought by sea be entered only in the ports of Calais and St. Valory.

By an arret of February 1. 1701. that Spanish silk be only exported by Narbonne, and proceed directly for Lyons.

A reflection. *It has been thought proper to produce these, and other examples of the like kind, in or-*

der to manifest the authority sovereigns are invested with to order merchandise, &c. to be imported and exported under certain restrictions by those places which they shall please to prescribe; whether it be to prevent the favourable opportunities some places have more than others, for committing frauds, or for other motives, that such limitations and other instances of economy be provided, for the encouragement of commerce, and manufactories in their own kingdom.

The French having complained of the hardships they sustained in England, where they could not trade with the same advantages, and upon the same footing the English did in France; and as it had been stipulated by treaties, his most christian majesty, by an arret of September 6. 1701. prohibited the importation of several woven, and other commodities, of the produce of England, and imposed heavy duties upon other commodities and fruits which he allowed to be brought from that kingdom, some of them being so excessive as to amount to 50 per cent. of their value. The acts of injustice, which the English had committed against the French, are recited in that arret.

His most christian majesty, by an arret of July 10. 1703. ordered that all merchandise from the Levant, brought either in foreign or French ships, after the said merchandise had been entered in foreign countries, should pay at entry into France, a duty of 20 per cent. of its value over and above the customary duties; and the tarif of the said commodities is recited, in order to regulate this addition to the duties.

Note.

Note. The importation of cottons, gold and silver stuffs, silks and other woven commodities from the Levant are prohibited in France.

By an arret of August 9. 1707. it was prohibited to export out of the kingdom, gold and silver, or copper under pain of death, and confiscation of these commodities, together with the carriages, horses, mules, ships or other vessels, that shall have been employed to transport them; and it is ordered also, that half of what shall be confiscated be given to the informer, who shall give notice of such extraction.

Observation. The reward usually granted in France to the informer is greater, than what is allowed in Spain or elsewhere; which seems to be well calculated for the discovery and better detection of frauds, and to take away all temptation, to compound with the proprietor, or agent for the merchandise.

His most christian majesty desirous of encouraging the fishery for sardines upon the coast of Britany prohibited the entry of sardines from England, and other foreign countries, by an arret of August 24. 1715. under pain of confiscation of the said fish, and the vessels that brought them, and a fine of 1000 dollars upon the merchants of that kingdom, that should accept any consignments of the said sardines from abroad.

Honours, pensions, and other indulgences granted in France in favour of manufactures.

TO avoid being tedious I shall not particularise the various pensions, indulgences, and other encouragements that have been distributed in France to encourage, reward and engage many skilful masters and artificers of several kinds, who have undertaken to set up fabricks of cloth, silk, camel and goat's hair, cristals and other commodities, that now flourish in that kingdom, for the improvement of which it appears from an arret of 1664. that Lewis XIV. yearly appropriated a million of livres, a sum, which at that time was above 500,000 crowns Vellon, exclusive of indulgences in the customs, and several other ways. I shall only produce three instances, literally translating the words of James Savary de Brussons, author of the dictionary of commerce, published in the year 1723. by Philemon Lewis Savary, who gives us more particulars than any other writer, together with the motives for the establishment, and the success the fabricks of cloth have found in Sedan, and Abbeville, which are in so great perfection, that the former equal, and the latter excel those of England; as also what he says of the fabricks of rich and prime tapestry, and other manufactures, that have been set up, and still flourish in the Gobelines. The account this author gives us very particularly, is as follows.

“ I have already had occasion more than once,
 “ and shall hereafter be obliged, to speak of several masters, that have made themselves famous
 in

“ in France by setting up different sorts of manu-
 “ factories. This would be a proper place to take
 “ notice of the many persons, eminent for under-
 “ takings of this kind, since the French turned
 “ their thoughts this way, and particularly since
 “ the reign of Henry IV. but as they are very nu-
 “ merous, I shall attempt only to give some ac-
 “ count of two, who are so much distinguished
 “ in their profession, and to whom France is so
 “ far obliged, that they no longer envy the beau-
 “ tiful cloths, black as well as colours, that are
 “ made in Spain, England and Holland, since
 “ they themselves have set up this fabrick, and
 “ raised it to the utmost perfection. One of these
 “ is Nicholas Cadeau, to whom the manufacture
 “ of Sedan owes its birth and perfection; the
 “ other Jossé Vanrobais, who set up that of Ab-
 “ beville, which has been, and still is in high
 “ reputation.

“ The former a native of France, entering in-
 “ to partnership in the year 1646. with John Bi-
 “ net, and Yves de Marseilles, two merchants of
 “ Paris, rich and able as himself, obtained a pa-
 “ tent granted at Fontainbleau, for his new ma-
 “ nufacture, in the month of July the same year.

“ 1. By this patent the partners obtained the
 “ privilege of being for the space of 20 years the
 “ sole directors of the manufacture of woollen
 “ cloths, black as well as all other colours, that
 “ should be made after the fabrick and manner of
 “ Dutch cloths.

“ 2. The three directors, and their children,
 “ that were already, or should hereafter be born,
 “ were made nobility, and honoured with all the
 “ titles

“ titles and privileges the noble families of France enjoy.

“ 3. A special commission was granted to them, and their issue, during the 20 years of their patent.

“ 4. Their foreign workmen were declared denizens, and both the French and foreigners discharged from all taxes, subsidies, quartering of soldiers, &c. and the same immunity was also extended to the houses or lodgings of the directors, and every place, where the fabricks should be carried on.

“ 5. The cloths made in their manufactory were exempt from being visited by the civil officers, or the masters and wardens of the trading companies; and the king reserved to himself the right of judging all offences against this ordinance, if any should happen.

“ 6. They were allowed to set up a brewery for malt liquor, both for the use of themselves, their family and clarks; and also to sell it to their workmen without paying any excise, tax, &c. during the said 20 years.

“ 7. Lastly, his majesty, willing to add profit to these honours, not only gave an annual pension of 500 livres to each of the three directors during life, but also granted them the sum of 8000 livres yearly, during the 20 years of their patent. This he gave as a donation to them, and their heirs, to relieve the great expence such an establishment could not fail to engage them in at first.

“ One may say that the success went far beyond the hopes, we at first conceived of this new manufactory. The cloths, which go under the name

“ name of Sedans, from the city where the fa-
 “ brick was set up, may justly be esteemed the
 “ most beautiful of the kind, if those of Abbe-
 “ ville, I am going to speak of, had not a party
 “ that contend at least for an equality.

“ The exclusive privilege of the Sieur Cadeau
 “ was upon the point of expiring, when Myn-
 “ heer Joffe Vanrobais a Dutch merchant made
 “ a proposal to set up a new manufacture of fine
 “ cloths, at Abbeville in Picardy, in imitation of
 “ those of Spain and Holland.

“ The patent, he obtained in the month of
 “ October 1669. contains the following remark-
 “ able clauses.

“ 1. That he should set on foot 30 woollen
 “ looms with as many fulling mills, as should be
 “ necessary, and procure 50 Dutch workmen to
 “ be employed in the manufactory.

“ 2. That there be granted passports to the
 “ workmen, and an exemption from the duties,
 “ for the looms, cloths, wool, and other necessities
 “ in this establishment.

“ 3. That proper places be assigned him for
 “ erecting two fulling mills, one of them a wind
 “ mill, the other a water mill, and such build-
 “ ings as should be wanted for the fabrick; and
 “ to lodge the workmen, with full liberty to
 “ chuse the said workmen, even dyers, brasiers,
 “ carders, shearers, &c. and without any of the
 “ companies having power to disturb him under
 “ a pretence the said workmen are not free.

“ 4. That he himself, his children, partners
 “ and workmen, that are foreigners, be, declared
 “ denizens of France, and exempt from all taxes,

“ subsidies, city imposts and quartering of soldiers.

“ 5. That he be allowed to build at his own expence for the use of his family and workmen, a brewery exempt also from excise, or other taxes.

“ 6. Lastly, to encourage this establishment, and defray in part the expences, the projector would be at in setting out, the king not only gave him as a free donation the sum of 12000 livres paid at one time, and the quantity of 8 minots of salt for every year of the 20, which his patent contained, at the price sold to the merchants, but also 2000 livres for every loom he should set up within the 3 first years. However, these last sums were granted him but as a loan, and were to be repaid without interest.

“ Joseph Vanrobais having punctually fulfilled his engagements, obtained in 1681. a renewal of his patent for 15 years longer, in his own name, and that of Isaac Vanrobais, his eldest brother, on condition of setting up 50 looms instead of 30, and in consideration of this the king made him a free gift of 20000 livres over and above the 80000 livres, which the loan amounted to, that had been lent him during the 3 first years of his former patent.

“ In 1698. a third renewal was also granted for 10 years to Mess. Isaac and Joseph Vanrobais brothers and sons of the projector, who had mounted 80 looms in their manufactory.

“ In short the looms in this manufactory exceeding 100, in the year 1708. and Joseph Vanrobais, in partnership with his brother Isaac's widow, ambitious of raising new buildings,

“ and

“ and extending farther this happy and great establishment, which has not perhaps its like, obtained the same year a continuation of their patent for 15 more, with new privileges and immunities for themselves, their workmen and partners. The king also in favour of the partners gave the nobility leave to enter into this association, without its being any imputation upon their honour.

Thus far the author extends his account touching the woollen manufactories of Sedan and Abbeville. As to the tapestry, and other curious manufactures, that have been set up, and still continue in the Gobelines, he speaks thus,

“ By the name of the Gobelines we mean a manufactory established in Paris at the end of the suburbs of St. Marcel for the fabrick of the royal tapestry and furniture.

“ The house, where this manufacture is now carried on, was built by two brothers, whose names were Gobelines, that first brought to Paris the secret of that beautiful scarlet dye, which has preserved their name, as well as the little river Bievre, on whose banks they erected their building, and which ever since has scarce been known at Paris, by any other name, than that of the river Gobelines.

“ In the year 1667 this place changed its name from the *folly of the Gobelines*, which it had hitherto borne, to that of the royal hotel des Gobelines, by virtue of an edict, Lewis XIV. published the same year, in the month of November.

“ The promoter of this establishment was Monsieur Colbert, superintendant of the buildings, gardens,

“ gardens, arts and manufactures of France, of
 “ whom it is not possible to say too much, or give
 “ too high a commendation, in a dictionary of
 “ commerce, since he has done so much to make
 “ it flourish in this kingdom, and to spur on the
 “ French to extend it to foreign countries, even
 “ to the most distant nations.

“ The royal palaces he had quite rebuilt and
 “ ornamented, particularly the Louvre and the Thu-
 “ illeries, the latter of which had been finished
 “ under his direction, and the magnificent and
 “ inimitable front of the other was almost raised,
 “ put this minister, who was always attentive to
 “ the glory of his king and country, upon think-
 “ ing how to procure furniture, suitable to the
 “ grandeur of the superb buildings the king had
 “ ordered to be erected.

“ With this view Monsieur Colbert collected
 “ together some of the most able workmen of the
 “ kingdom in all sorts of manufactures and arts,
 “ particularly painters, tapestry weavers, engravers,
 “ goldsmiths, and workers in ebony. He invited
 “ also into France many of the above professions,
 “ who were most famous in foreign countries.
 “ For these he obtained honourable privileges and
 “ considerable pensions; and in order to render the
 “ establishment he projected more secure, pre-
 “ vailed upon the king to make a purchase of the
 “ Hotel des Gobelins for the manufactory, and
 “ to prescribe such rules, as would ensure the con-
 “ tinuance, and settle the management of it.

“ The edict of 1667, which we have menti-
 “ oned above, gave the finishing hand to this
 “ project by the 17 articles it contains.

“ After the preamble of the edict, in which is
 “ inserted

“ inserted that of Henry IV. in 1607 for setting up
 “ a manufacture of tapestry in the same suburbs
 “ of St. Marcel, and the declarations and rules laid
 “ down in consequence of it, the king ordains and
 “ decrees,

“ 1. That the manufacture of tapestry and other
 “ works be established in the Hotel, called des
 “ Gobelines, and the houses and parts depending
 “ upon it, and belonging to his majesty; and that
 “ over the principal gate be set up a marble with
 “ this inscription under the arms of France. *The*
 “ *royal manufactory of the crown-furniture.*

“ 2. That the said manufactures, and what-
 “ ever depends upon them, be under the conduct
 “ and administration of the Sieur Colbert, super-
 “ intendant of the buildings, arts and manufac-
 “ tures of France, and his successors in that office.

“ 3. That the particular direction of it be under
 “ the care of the Sieur le Brun, in quality of
 “ director, and in case of a vacancy under another
 “ director of abilities and skill in the art of paint-
 “ ing, appointed by the superintendant of the
 “ buildings, to form designs for the tapestries,
 “ sculpture, and other works, to see them put in
 “ execution, and have the conduct and inspection
 “ of the workmen.

“ 4. That the superintendant of the buildings,
 “ and the director under him, take care to supply
 “ the manufactory with good painters, masters in
 “ the art of tapestry, goldsmiths, founders, gravers,
 “ lapidaries, carvers in ebony and wood, dyers
 “ and other good workmen in all the arts and
 “ crafts established in the said hotel.

“ 5. That there be every year drawn out and
 “ stated, an account of the masters and workmen

“ by the said superintendant; in order to their
 “ having their wages and stipends settled, and
 “ paid by the treasurer of the buildings.

“ 6. That there be maintained in the said ma-
 “ nufactory 60 children at the expence of his ma-
 “ jesty; and for the support of each of them, that
 “ there be paid to the director 250 livres, by the
 “ said treasurer in the space of 5 years; viz. in the
 “ first year 100 livres, the second 75, the third
 “ 30, the fourth 25, and the fifth 20 livres.

“ 7. That the children from their admission
 “ into the said house be put into the seminary of
 “ the director, over which he shall appoint a
 “ master painter, under himself, who shall have
 “ the care of their education and instruction, with
 “ an intent, that they shall be afterwards put ap-
 “ prentice to the masters of the several arts and
 “ trades settled in the said hotel.

“ 8. That the said children, after an appren-
 “ ticeship of 6 years, and 4 years service more
 “ in the said manufactories, even apprentices to
 “ goldsmiths, though they shall not be sons of
 “ masters, be qualified to take and keep a shop
 “ in their several arts and trades, both in Paris, and
 “ any other town in the kingdom, without being
 “ obliged to undergo an examination, or do more
 “ than present themselves before the masters and
 “ wardens of their respective arts and trades, for
 “ admission into the company without any charge,
 “ upon a single testimonial of the said superinten-
 “ dant of the buildings.

“ 9. However that such of the said children, as
 “ shall have been employed for a year in the ma-
 “ nufactures of the said hotel, with the consent of
 “ their fathers and mothers, and shall after that
 “ time

“ time go away without leave from the super-
 “ intendant, be declared incapable of being free
 “ of the trade, at which they had been employed
 “ in the hotel.

“ 10. That the workmen, who shall have
 “ been employed 6 years together in the said ma-
 “ nufactories be admitted in like manner, to be
 “ masters in the usual form, as above, upon the
 “ certificate of the superintendant of the buildings.

“ 11. That the workmen employed in the said
 “ manufactories be distributed in houses near the
 “ hotel des Gobelins, and that 12 of the said
 “ houses, which they shall inhabit, have centinels,
 “ and be exempt from quartering soldiers.

“ 12. That foreign workmen employed, and
 “ actually serving in the said hotel, happening to
 “ die, possess the privilege of natives, and their
 “ effects go to those that shall legally inherit; and
 “ that such of the said foreign workmen, as shall
 “ have laboured there for ten years, be also reck-
 “ oned true and native French, notwithstanding
 “ they shall have left the manufactory after the
 “ said term; and their inheritance be disposed of
 “ as above, without any need of letters of natu-
 “ ralization, or other proof than an extract of the
 “ present edict, and a certificate from the super-
 “ intendant of the buildings.

“ 13. That all the said workmen be exempt
 “ from wardenships, charges, watch and ward of
 “ the city, and other publick or personal offices,
 “ so long as they be employed in the manufac-
 “ ture, unless it be their own choice.

“ 14. That they be equally exempt from all
 “ taxes and imposts, even though they should

“ have gone out of places taxable, and in which
“ they had even been assessed.

“ 15. That it be allowed the director to set up
“ breweries in proper places to supply the workmen
“ with beer, without any obstruction from the
“ company of brewers, or being obliged to pay
“ any tax.

“ 16. And that the workmen may not be inter-
“ rupted in their labour by law-suits, which they,
“ their families, or domesticks may have in seve-
“ ral or different jurisdictions, his majesty appoints
“ the masters of the hotel for the time being, to
“ take cognisance of them upon the first action;
“ and after an appeal, the parliament of Paris.

“ 17. Lastly, all merchants and other persons,
“ of whatever quality or condition they may be,
“ are prohibited from buying or importing the
“ tapestries of foreign countries, or to sell or vend
“ any foreign manufacture, except what was at
“ that time in the kingdom, under the penalty
“ of confiscation of the same, and a fine of half
“ the value of the tapestry confiscated.

“ It is from this royal manufactory des Gobe-
“ lines that so many curious works of all sorts have
“ proceeded, which serve for ornament to Ver-
“ sailles, and Marly, royal palaces that will al-
“ ways raise the admiration of foreigners, and be
“ fine monuments of the grandeur of that potent
“ prince, for whom they were built, furnished and
“ ornamented. In this hotel there have been also
“ educated so many able workmen, who have
“ gone out of it, since its first foundation, and
“ been distributed all over the kingdom, and es-
“ pecially in the capital, where they have advanced
“ the polite arts to so high a degree, that the
“ French

“ French scarce any longer envy or lament the
“ curious works of the Greeks and Romans.

“ One may say also, that tapestries were ad-
“ vanced to the highest perfection during the su-
“ perintendence of Monsieur Colbert, and Mon-
“ sieur Louvois ; and it is a point in doubt whe-
“ ther England or Flanders have produced any
“ thing superior to Alexander’s battles, the four
“ seasons, the four elements, the royal palaces,
“ and the history of the principal acts of Lewis
“ XIV. from his marriage to the first conquest of
“ Franche-Compte, wrought at Gobelines from
“ the designs of the famous Monsieur le Brun.
“ The same may be said with justice of the tape-
“ tries Monsieur Louvois caused to be made during
“ his superintendancy, after the most beautiful
“ originals in the king’s cabinet, of Raphael, Julio
“ Romano, and other famous painters in the
“ schools of Italy, which he first caused to be
“ drawn in larger dimensions by the most able
“ French painters, such as la Fosse, the two Coy-
“ pels, father and son, Jouvenet, Perfon, and
“ many others that were at that time.

C H A P. XXVI.

*Several other very essential provisions made by the
most christian king Lewis XIV. both in favour of
trade and navigation, and other points of civil
government.*

THE long, very prudent and glorious reign
of Lewis XIV. has left so many and such
illustrious examples to future ages, to shew how
to insure the same success he himself obtained in
the grand affair of commerce, and other policies of
“ civil

civil government, that I have thought proper to subjoin a short account which I gave myself of that great monarch in my approbation of a book mentioned above, under the title of, *The commerce of Holland*, and of the reasons for the translation of it at Madrid in the year 1717, and referred to me by the royal council of Castile.

“ Lewis the great, in an edict of the year 1664, was lamenting, that most of his subjects were naturally inclined to a lazy, inactive life, but the vigour and influence of his glorious government prevailed so much, that his subjects, as it were changing their nature, shook off their indolence, and during the course of his long reign, shewed themselves to be the most active, ingenious and laborious people in Europe, particularly in manufactures, commerce and navigation. To this spirit did not a little contribute the zeal and abilities, that great minister John Baptist Colbert exerted in pursuing the orders of his most christian majesty, and carrying his exalted maxims into execution.

“ That prodigy of a monarch did with his own eyes examine into the state of his royal revenue, reformed the disorder and confusion he found it in; and put it under so good a regulation, that he considerably improved it, while he eased his subjects of several heavy loads by a reduction of some, and an annihilation of other taxes, especially those small revenues, that yielded little to the treasury, but were a heavy load upon the common people, and as he found by experience, that nothing was so likely to make his kingdom flourish as trade, he made it his principal concern to revive and improve it.

“ Ob-

“ Observing that the indulgences allowed to the people on pretence of fairs, to facilitate buying and selling, or the barter of the fruits and commodities of their own country, were abused and converted to the advantage of foreigners; and a great injury to the trade of his own subjects, he reformed also this disorder, by several regulations and wise provisions.

“ In every province he appointed commissioners to examine into the debts and charges upon every trading company; the condition, management and disposal of their revenues, and what charges or expences might be remitted. Thus by a thorough acquaintance with their situation he formed general and particular rules to prevent disorders, ease their charges and expence, pay off their debts, and settle regular payments for the future, appointing officers of zeal and abilities to do it annually; by which provisions and relief the people found themselves in a condition to improve their commerce.

“ He ordered the repair of bridges, causeways, pavements, and other publick works, that were in so wretched a condition as to render travelling difficult, and the carriage of merchandise expensive.

“ He made the high roads safe, and free to travellers, by causing robbers that infested them, to be severely punished, and obliging the prevoists, and other justices appointed for this purpose, punctually to execute their office.

“ He ordered his ports to be repaired, enlarged and protected in both seas, and new ones to be made, and executed his schemes with all the success and perfection the event manifests.

“ He

“ He instituted several academies under the
 “ direction of able engineers to instruct youth in
 “ cosmography, the art of navigation, fortificati-
 “ on, and the other branches of mathematicks,
 “ which have a reference to war either by sea or
 “ land, not omitting the architecture, or building
 “ of ships.

“ He caused to be drawn up very precise and
 “ well adjusted ordinances for the service, disci-
 “ pline, polity, pay and fitting out of his fleet;
 “ the building of his ships, the government and
 “ preservation of the ports, and for the establish-
 “ ment, and direction of the arsenals, docks and
 “ magazines.

“ He gave also stated rules for the navigation,
 “ freights, contracts, polity, fitting out and other
 “ concerns of merchantmen, and the form of
 “ traffick in them, and deciding all their causes
 “ and disputes in these and any other points by a
 “ short process.

“ He made some rivers navigable, and opened
 “ several canals with the design of conveying
 “ at the least expence, both outwards and inwards,
 “ the merchandise and fruits of his several pro-
 “ vinces, that they might mutually supply each
 “ other, without the heavy charge in transporting
 “ them from place to place by horses and carri-
 “ ages; and lastly, proved the greatness of his soul,
 “ as well as power, in uniting the two seas by
 “ means of long and expensive canals.

“ At the same time, he employed his attention
 “ to revise navigation and a foreign trade, from a
 “ sense that foreigners had availed themselves and
 “ grown powerful by an active commerce by sea;
 “ as well as that of coasting from port to port in

“ one’s own country. And as the few ships, his
 “ subjects had preserved, were daily made prize
 “ upon his own coasts by the corsairs of Barbary,
 “ for a present remedy to this evil, and other im-
 “ portant views, he fitted out a considerable fleet,
 “ both of ships of war and gallies, chastised the
 “ insolence of those corsairs, and obliged them to
 “ take refuge in their own ports; and to chastise
 “ the pirates farther, and make them take warn-
 “ ing, he caused them to be attacked in their own
 “ country, where he seized an advantageous post
 “ to keep them in awe for the future.

“ In short, he secured the navigation of his sub-
 “ jects against every sort of pirates, allowing them
 “ ships of war to convoy and preserve their fleets;
 “ and to encourage the building of ships, exemp-
 “ ted them from the tax of 50 sols per ton, laid
 “ upon freights, and charged upon all foreign ves-
 “ sels.

“ He caused the French colonies in the Indies
 “ to be fortified, and enlarged, establishing his
 “ own royal authority there, and giving a new
 “ being to the administration of justice, that had
 “ been very corrupt.

“ He invited and encouraged the nobles, either
 “ single or in partnership to embark in trade as
 “ merchants, by sea and land, declaring that it
 “ should never be any imputation upon their ho-
 “ nour.

“ He formed an independant general council of
 “ commerce, consisting of ministers and others of
 “ great experience and credit in trade, which
 “ council was convened every 15 days in his
 “ majesty’s presence.

“ At

" At Roan, Lyons, and other cities of large
 " trade, he instituted particular associations of
 " persons skilful in this affair, in which was de-
 " bated by men of experience upon the spot, and
 " granted every thing that favoured its improve-
 " ment, according to the situation and advantages
 " of each city and province. And an account
 " was transmitted to his most christian majesty of
 " every thing they resolved upon, as well as what
 " occurred to them; this he ordered to be ex-
 " amined in the general council of commerce; and
 " by this universal knowledge of the constitution
 " of every one of his provinces, and the opinions
 " of men of most experience in all the kingdom
 " assembled together, and members of that coun-
 " cil he formed his royal decrees for the recovery,
 " enlargement, and preservation of trade in gen-
 " eral, both at home and abroad, with an eye par-
 " ticularly to its manufactories.

" He ordered these provisions and maxims,
 " suitable to his royal soul, to be communicated
 " to the tribunals both in the capital and out of
 " it, as also to the governors general of the pro-
 " vinces, to the intendants, and trading com-
 " panies of the principal cities and towns, shewing
 " them the particular attention his majesty gave
 " to this great affair, and strictly enjoining them
 " to exert the authority, he had invested in them,
 " for the encouragement and protection of all
 " traders and merchants by administering justice to
 " them in a brief manner, in preference to all
 " others, that they might not be drawn away
 " from their business by the chicanry and tricks
 " of the law.

" By

“ By circular letters he encouraged all the traders and merchants to apply directly to his most christian majesty in every thing that should occur to them.

“ He invited them also to depute certain persons of their own body to be near his royal person, and represent to him their complaints and proposals; and in order to render more effectual these provisions, and secure the continuance of them, he appointed also a minister for this purpose to be about his royal person, with a charge to hear their grievances, and solicit instantly the measures, they should stand in need of.

“ In each of the several places, where his most christian majesty used to reside, he erected a court of commerce, where they might assemble, and consult about trade.

“ A million of livres he also assigned yearly, as an aid for the recovery of the manufactures, and other ends of commerce.

“ He banished idleness by employing the poor and vagabonds to advantage, and made several other ordinances, and provisions, that rendered his reign happy and glorious, but these I have not thought proper to mention here, as I confine myself to such as relate to the point in hand.

“ But what gave life and spirit to all these provisions was the reputation of the government, and the good faith he established and maintained by a certain and punctual execution of his proposals and resolutions, and a sacred observance of all contracts and agreements made with the trading companies, men of business and

“ and others. And it was also a great encourage-
 “ ment that his majesty’s whole life was a conti-
 “ nued and vigilant protection of commerce and
 “ navigation, and imitated by the ministers he
 “ had chosen for this important direction; and
 “ whom he also encouraged not only with repeat-
 “ ed favours, but also supported against the strug-
 “ gles of envy and emulation; and without such
 “ a powerful support all his establishments, though
 “ solid, prudent and interesting, as the happy ef-
 “ fects manifested, would have been defeated.

“ When we see these natural regulations of
 “ commerce, executed and authorised by a great
 “ king in a neighbouring monarchy, and whose
 “ form of government is so like our own, and
 “ the examples of a republick, which this book
 “ contains, the Spaniards ought not to be discour-
 “ aged by an apprehension, which the malice of
 “ foreigners may have infected them with; that
 “ what is practised in other kingdoms in respect
 “ to commerce, cannot be done in this, since
 “ it rises or falls, not so much from the vigi-
 “ lance of private persons, as the care and protec-
 “ tion of a government.

C H A P. XXVII.

The particular protection commerce has received from several great kings of France.

I Think it also not unseasonable to insert here
 the substance of what Lewis Morrier, in his
 historical dictionary, of the impression 1718. says
 in regard to commerce, on which subject he has
 among others the following reflections:

“ Com-

" Commerce is carried on within a kingdom,
 " and in foreign parts. This powerful means of
 " enriching states has engaged and become the
 " care of most kings, sovereign princes, and
 " republicks. Under the government of the first
 " line of French kings, who reigned from the year
 " 418. down to 751. it is not known what
 " the state of trade was, because those princes
 " regarding only conquests, were more attentive
 " to the profession of arms than to enrich the
 " kingdom by traffick and commerce with foreign-
 " ers. Charles the great, the second prince of the
 " second line, desirous of having commerce flou-
 " rish; created an office of king of the merchants,
 " with an inspection and superintendancy over all
 " persons of that denomination, whose jurisdic-
 " tion was exercised by deputies in every province
 " and city of note.

" The great chamberlain, an officer of the
 " crown, and who had already the jurisdiction
 " of arts and manufactories, was appointed in lieu
 " of king of the merchants by Francis I. in
 " 1544. This father of arts and letters was the
 " first of our kings, that projected the introduc-
 " tion of trade into France by distant voyages in-
 " to the remote parts of the world.

" By the orders he gave to admiral Chabot,
 " Cape Breton was discovered; as far as Florida
 " and Virginia, as also the Marannan, and Cana-
 " da in America.

" He resolved to fit out ships for the East In-
 " dies, but his wars with the emperor Charles V.
 " prevented it.

" In 1545. the employment of grand cham-
 " berlain of France was vacant by the death of

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“ Charles duke of Orleans, and his father king
“ Francis I. annihilated the office and revived that
“ of king of the merchants, which continued till
“ Henry the great put an end to it, in 1587. and
“ took upon himself the charge of commerce,
“ and was very zealous in it, setting up a fabrick
“ of tapestry at the Gobelines in the suburbs of
“ St. Marcel, at Paris, and another of gilt-leather
“ hangings in the suburbs of St. Honoré and
“ Jacques; the mills of Estampe to split and
“ cut iron; a manufacture of gold and silver
“ stuffs in the Place Royal; those of gawse, &c.
“ in Mante; of glass at Paris and at Nevers, in
“ imitation of those at Venice, and several other
“ useful manufactures.

“ He formed also a council of commerce made
“ up of ministers out of several tribunals, in which
“ was debated and decided every thing relating to
“ trade.

“ In 1607 he appointed a new officer of master-
“ visitor, and reformer general, to inspect all the
“ manufactories, which made up the principal
“ branches of commerce.

“ Lewis XIV. has added to his conquests, plen-
“ ty and riches in the kingdom, making the com-
“ merce of the French flourish in all the four
“ quarters of the world. The vigilance of Mon-
“ sieur Colbert contributed very much to this
“ grand point.”

C H A P. XXVIII.

Examples of the custom-house duties, indulgences, and other provisions of the English, for the improvement and preservation of trade. A king's speech to his parliament for a regulation of the duties, and other affairs.

THE utmost diligence has not enabled me to obtain books or accounts where I might find the tariff, and other rules practised by the English government in their extensive and advantageous commerce. Though I have procured books from London with a design to gain this information, I have found them to be very imperfect, besides their being written in the English language; since they contain only acts of parliament made upon a variety of occasions, and though they include some provisions in favour of commerce, it is not in that extent and so particularly as they should be, to enable me to produce their rules with the same preciseness, as the examples of France. It will be therefore necessary for me to make use of some fragments and loose papers, and though they do not amount to a full information, may make great amends by the dependance there is upon them. In this narrative I will give the first place to some articles of a speech, which his present majesty of England made to his parliament, Oct. 29. 1721.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I acquainted you, when we parted last, with
 " our having renewed all our treaties of commerce
 " with Spain; since which, peace is happily re-

“ stored in the North, by the conclusion of the
 “ treaty between the Czar and the king of Swe-
 “ den ; and by that which I have made with the
 “ Moors, a great number of my subjects are de-
 “ livered from slavery ; and all such of them, as
 “ trade to those parts of the world, are, for the
 “ future, secured from falling under that dread-
 “ ful calamity.

“ In this situation of affairs, we should be ex-
 “ tremely wanting to ourselves, if we neglected
 “ to improve the favourable opportunity, which
 “ this general tranquillity gives us, of extending
 “ our commerce, upon which the riches and
 “ grandeur of this nation chiefly depend. It is
 “ very obvious, that nothing would more conduce
 “ to the obtaining so publick a good, than to
 “ make the exportation of our manufactures, and
 “ the importation of the commodities used in the
 “ manufacturing of them, as practicable and easy
 “ as may be ; by this means the balance of trade
 “ may be preserved in our favour, our navigation
 “ increased, and greater numbers of our poor
 “ employed.

“ I must therefore recommend it to you,
 “ gentlemen of the House of Commons, to con-
 “ sider how far the duties of these branches *
 “ may be taken off, and replaced, without any
 “ violation of publick faith, or laying any new
 “ burden upon my people. And I promise my-
 “ self, that by a due consideration of this matter,
 “ the produce of those duties, compared with the
 “ infinite advantages that will accrue to the king-

* From the sentence going before, this reduction of the duties is to be understood of their own commodities exported, and of materials imported, which is the principal point I am labouring to explain.

dom by their being taken off, will be found so
 "inconsiderable, as to leave little room for any
 "difficulties or objections.

"The supplying ourselves with naval stores, upon
 "terms the most easy, and least precarious, seems
 "highly to deserve the care and attention of par-
 "liament. Our plantations in America naturally
 "abound with most of the proper materials for
 "this necessary and essential part of our trade and
 "maritime strength; and if, by due encourage-
 "ment, we could be furnished from thence with
 "those naval stores, which we are now obliged
 "to purchase, and bring from foreign countries,
 "it would not only greatly contribute to the
 "riches, influence, and power of this nation,
 "but, by employing our own colonies in this
 "useful and advantageous service, divert them
 "from setting up, and carrying on manufactures,
 "which directly interfere with those of Great
 "Britain."

In the month of November, the same year
 1721. in England an inquiry was made into the
 trade that nation had carried on with Muscovy,
 Sweden, Denmark and the Hans towns; and
 they found, that in the years 1716. and 1717.
 alone, England had lost above 2 millions of dol-
 lars in this traffick, by their having bought of
 those countries so many more goods, than they had
 sold thither. Some persons on this account propos-
 ed to abandon that commerce, and draw from the
 English colonies in America the stores, they had
 hitherto brought from the Baltick for the building
 and service of the shipping, and also that in the
 said colonies; provision be made for the greater

preservation of the forests of white pine, and to improve the tar made there.

In the beginning of the year following 1722, with a view to encourage the exportation and consumption of the manufactures and produce of that kingdom, the parliament resolved to take off the duty upon salt used in curing white herrings; as also the duty charged on the exportation of the said herrings.

At the same time it resolved that several duties then charged upon the manufactures of Great Britain exported should be taken off.

Moreover, it took off the duties payable on the importation of several materials, that came from abroad, and were serviceable to their manufactures and dying, with a provision, that such of the said materials, as shall have been from that time imported free of duty, and afterwards be exported again, shall be charged with a duty equal to the difference between the present duty, and the present draw-back.

And that timber, and other materials imported into Great Britain from their colonies in America should not for the future pay any duty at all.

The same year an act was made to prohibit the wear of India silks, as being prejudicial to the vent and preservation of their own manufactures; a point of so great importance, that it always engages the first attention of that prince and his parliament, as the principal mine from whence they derive their riches and their strength, which they publish to be so great, that one would doubt of the truth of it, were it not in the main verified by the consequences. For the same year was printed in the month of February at London, a list of
the

the maritime force of that kingdom, by which it appears, that it consisted of 180 men of war, 7 of them first rates; 12 second rates; 40 third rates; 66 fourth rates; 32 fifth rates; and 23 sixth rates, exclusive of several small vessels, such as fire ships, sloops, &c.

The marquis of Montaleon, his majesty's ambassador at the court of London, corresponding with the minister of the court of Madrid upon the subject of trade, gave in a letter of April 18, 1715, the following particulars.

“ Very few are the vessels that come from Spain
 “ to these ports. Since the last peace there have
 “ been seen here only two sloops from Bilbao,
 “ laden with a small quantity of wool, and some
 “ Spanish fruits. This is owing to the advantage
 “ an English ship possesses over the foreign ones,
 “ being allowed 7 per cent. of the duties upon
 “ imports, by a law made in the reign of king
 “ William to engage the whole nation in com-
 “ merce. Moreover, as an English ship sails with
 “ fewer hands and at less expence, freights are
 “ not so high as in Spanish vessels. The English
 “ also have another advantage, that in exporting
 “ the produce of England, such as tin, lead, corn,
 “ and coal, they not only pay no duty, but the
 “ king by act of parliament gives a bounty of 2½
 “ reals plate upon every bushel of wheat sent
 “ abroad. Hence it follows, that all the vast com-
 “ merce of Spain with these kingdoms is carried
 “ on by the hands of the English alone; and
 “ indeed very few are the foreign ships, that come
 “ directly into these ports.

It would take up a very large chapter to explain the grand policy of the English in allowing and encouraging

encouraging the exportation of grain *. The principal ground of it is, that by procuring the farmers a vent for it, and a reasonable price, they put them into a condition to cultivate their lands again, and thus prevent a scarcity the ensuing years. But as this practice of England, which some recommend to our imitation, will raise great astonishment almost every where from the novelty of the thing, and its contradiction to what seems prudent at first sight, I shall enlarge in a separate paper upon the grounds of this maxim, which they esteem a piece of prudence, in order to prevent years of famine, and promote plenty at all times.

England also affords great quantities of lead and tin, and as there is in that kingdom a great deal more than they want, of those two metals, and they have no manufacture that can much improve their value, before they are sent abroad, they take care also to encourage the exportation of them, as if they were commodities, and not materials, in order to draw money into the kingdom; a maxim that is entirely opposite to what they pursue in the article of wool of their own growth, which though it be not so curious as that of Spain, is yet of an excellent quality; and the exportation of it is prohibited under pain of death, as a precious material, which wrought up into cloth multiplies its value to 500 per cent. as it has been already shewn in other chapters.

* I have been informed by persons, whose intelligence is to be depended upon, that this bounty to exporters of grain is only granted, when the price of it does not exceed a certain sum settled by law. This rule as to an allowance to export is also observed in Navarre to the great advantage of the natives; since every person may export grain at any time, except the price exceed what is prescribed by the laws of the kingdom.

C H A P. XXIX.

The great advantages which the trade of the English enjoys, both in Spain and America, especially from the sale of Bacalao, and other salt fish in these kingdoms. A proposal to remedy these inconveniencies in some measure.

IN a treatise already mentioned, *The interest of England* ill understood in the war, which was carried on in the year 1704, we have a detail of the various sorts of merchandise brought from England to Spain and Portugal, of which the principal is fish, with a remark that three parts are for Spain, and the fourth for Portugal; but that the profits are very different. The returns from Portugal are made in commodities and fruits exported, such as tobacco, wine, sugar, spices and salt; while those of Spain are much more advantageous to the English, as they principally consist of bullion, and bars of silver. For the wine, wool, and other commodities they take back, are far from being a balance for the goods brought into Spain.

In the same book it is also said, that one of the principal branches of commerce which the English possess in America, consists of an illicit traffick with his majesty's provinces, by introducing their merchandise by way of Jamaica; and the return is usually in bullion, woad and cochinnile; and they estimate their gain by this single traffick 6 millions of dollars yearly; and draw even more money from the Spanish dominions by way of Jamaica, than Cadiz. Nor ought this to be strange, since in the month of August 1722, there arrived in England,

land, 30 vessels freighted from Jamaica; and if we consider the barrenness of that island, one must be convinced that a principal part of their loading had been drawn from Spanish America; and the case is the same with the other numerous and frequent convoys, that pass backwards and forwards from England to Jamaica, where for the reason given above, and the few inhabitants of that island, a small part of the numerous goods carried over, will be consumed there, and therefore they dispose of the rest to the Spaniards, as the English themselves confess. Moreover, the same book mentions the danger this branch of their commerce will be exposed to in the course of a war, they had unjustly declared against us, since we could put a stop to it with six frigates stationed to scour those seas.

The same writer asserts that some years, when the duties upon imports were very moderate in France upon English commodities, and in England very high upon those of France, much larger quantities of English merchandise were introduced into France, than there came into England of the French. The result of this was, that the balance of trade with France being considerably in the favour of England, so much French money passed over to England, that after the peace of Rislewick, they coined out of it at London to the amount of 600,000 l. sterling, or about three millions of dollars; another plain instance, and proof that the surest way to attract, and detain money, is to sell more than one buys, and that this is much facilitated by a proper regulation of the duties.

The English rate very high the advantages they derive from their fishery, both from the great
number

number of seamen it breeds up, and the profits by transporting fish to catholick countries. Upon this account, and after mention of the disadvantages England has reason to dread from that war, the above writer makes the following remarks.

“ Most part of our fish is consumed in catholick countries, where it serves for food on days they are restrained by their religion from eating flesh; and should necessity prevail upon those, that have the care of the consciences of the people to moderate the rigour of such a law, and permit the use of certain provisions hitherto prohibited on days of abstinence; and if once the indulgence be granted, they will never return to their old way, upon which alone depends the consumption of our fish in Spain and Italy. Besides, in those countries are many other sorts of food, which might be allowed for their diet upon every day of the year indiscriminately.

“ The Pope, who thinks us rebel subjects, because we unjustly detain the goods of the church, of which he is the head, will chearfully concur to support it with his authority, and grant all the fit and necessary dispensations for it, according to the practice of the Romish church, as soon as he knows, what great prejudice will arise from thence to our navigation and commerce. For though we preserve, as it were, all our trade since the late war, yet that of fish has been reduced two thirds, an event that ought to make us dread its entire loss in the present war.”

N. B. This book is ascribed to an English minister of rank, well affected to the two crowns, and in his heart a catholick, who disliked the war the English and their allies were carrying on against them, and endeavoured to persuade his country-men, that it was injurious to their own interest, both on account of the excessive expences, it would occasion without any necessity, and the losses their commerce might be exposed to, shewing among other things that with six frigates in the north American seas, it is in our power to cut off the traffick they carry on with the Spanish West-Indies by way of Jamaica; and that it depended only on the pleasure of the Pope, to whom the English were obnoxious upon many accounts, whether their fish should be consumed or not in catholick countries, where they found the best market for them. By these arguments the author labours to dissuade them from prosecuting the said war.

The observation he makes upon the English having unjustly usurped the goods of the church, of which the Pope is the head, gives us to understand, that his reflections proceeded from a good catholick heart, though he was not willing to speak plain. Since he confesses the usurpation to be unjust, and by consequence the Roman-catholick church had a legal right and title to them.

This apprehension is also confirmed by the clauses, where he seems to suggest to us a way to do them considerable damage, or to speak more properly, to prevent the great evils they bring upon us, both when he shews how to put a stop to their illicit trade by way of Jamaica, and invites our bishops to permit throughout the year certain kinds of food, prohibited upon particular days, and means no doubt, eggs, cheese, milk and butter, which some religious foundations

dations are restrained from many days in the year. In all probability, he would also insinuate, that the prohibition of flesh might be moderated, as it is in the provinces of the crown of Castile, in respect to saturdays, and extended to those of Aragon. In all these measures he apprehends the Pope will readily concur for the reasons there given, and others hinted at; and without daring to speak out, he was, in my opinion, willing to tell us, that if by such means we should reduce the consumption of Bacalao, and other fish, from the North and Newfoundland, we might deprive the English, and other powers of this great advantage, which enables them to drain us of millions of crowns, for the increase of their own strength, and our ruin. These great disadvantages so very much interest our conscience, as well as all good policy, that they deserve the particular attention of all catholick princes, and especially the Pope. From the pious zeal of this holy Father, we have reason to flatter ourselves, that as soon as he shall be informed of these evils, he will allow, and even encourage the measures that tend towards a remedy, even though it be necessary to substitute in the place of numerous fast-days, another species of abstinence and restraint, that equally administers to the mortification of our souls, and does not turn out so much to the advantage of the rivals of the crown, and the catholick church, as these fast-days do, by opening a way for the importation and consumption of their salt fish, which is a main branch of their commerce, and the foundation of their riches and strength.

C H A P. XXX.

The vigorous and absolute laws of the English in favour of their navigation and commerce, without regard to the faith of treaties, or any other consideration.

FOR a clearer proof of the effectual provisions made by the English to extend their navigation and commerce; and their haughty and absolute manner of resolving and carrying into execution, whatever they please, and is subservient to their purpose, without regard to treaties of peace, or any other consideration, I shall here insert one of their acts of parliament, which has obtained the royal assent.

An act for the encouraging, and increasing of shipping and navigation, which had the royal assent Thursday September 23. 1660.

“ For the increase of shipping, and encouragement of the navigation of this nation, wherein, under the good providence and protection of God, the wealth, safety and strength of this kingdom is so much concerned,

“ Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, and by the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, that from and after the first day of December 1660, no goods or commodities whatsoever shall be imported into; or exported out of any lands, or territories that belong, or shall belong to his majesty, or his successors, in Asia, Africa, or America in any other ship or vessel, but what is of the built of some of his majesty's dominions, and belonging to some of his majesty's subjects, as the proprietors

“ prietors and right owners thereof, and whereof
 “ the master, and three fourths of the mariners at
 “ least are English, under the penalty of the for-
 “ feiture of all the goods and commodities, as also
 “ of the ship or vessel; one third part thereof
 “ to his majesty, one third part to the governor
 “ of such place, where the said ship or goods shall
 “ be seised, or otherwise, that third part also to
 “ his majesty; and the remaining third part to
 “ the informer.

“ That all admirals and, other commanders at
 “ sea, that bear his majesty's commission, are
 “ authorised to seize, and bring in as prize, all
 “ such vessels, as shall have offended contrary
 “ hereunto; and in case of condemnation, one
 “ moiety of such forfeitures shall be to the use of
 “ such admirals, or commanders, and their com-
 “ panies, to be divided and proportioned amongst
 “ them according to the rules and order of the sea
 “ in case of ships taken prize; and the other moi-
 “ ety to the use of his majesty.

“ It is also enacted, that no alien, or person
 “ not born within the allegiance of his majesty,
 “ or naturalized, shall, from and after the 1st day
 “ of February 1661, exercise the trade or occu-
 “ pation of a merchant, or factor in any of the
 “ said colonies under the penalty above menti-
 “ oned.

“ And all governors of the said colonies are re-
 “ quired to take a solemn oath, to put in execu-
 “ tion the said laws; and all such governors upon
 “ complaint and proof, that they have been wil-
 “ lingly and wittingly negligent in doing their
 “ duty accordingly, shall be removed from their
 “ government.

“ It is enacted also, that no goods or commodities whatsoever of the growth, production or manufacture of Africa, Asia, or America be imported into any of his majesty's dominions, or countries, in any other ship or vessel, than such as are mentioned above, under the penalty of forfeiting ship and cargo.

“ That no goods or commodities of foreign growth, or manufacture, which are to be brought into England, shall be shipped or brought from any other place, but that of the said growth or manufacture, or from those ports, where they can only, or usually are shipped for transportation, under the same penalty.

“ That every sort of fish, oyl and whalebone, that shall not have been caught by English ships, and shall be imported into England, shall pay double aliens duty.

“ That all ships, that shall not be English, and conformable to the rules above-mentioned, shall be prohibited from loading any sort of merchandise in any of the ports of England or Ireland, in order to transport it to any other place in his majesty's dominions, under penalty of forfeiting both ship and goods. For the commerce, usually called the coasting trade, is alone permitted to English ships.

“ That where any abatement or privilege is given in the book of rates to goods or commodities imported or exported in English built shipping, it is always to be understood, that the master and three fourths of the mariners at least be English, and during the whole voyage, unless in case of sickness, death, or being taken
“ prisoners ;

“ prisoners; and this is to be proved by the oath
“ of the master, and chief officers of the ship.

“ That no commodities of the growth, pro-
“ duction, or manufacture of Muscovy; as also
“ no sorts of masts, timber or boards, no foreign
“ salt, pitch, tar, rosin, hemp or flax, raisins, figs,
“ prunes, and olive oyls; no sort of corn or grain,
“ sugar, pot-ashes, wines, vinegar, or spirits, call-
“ ed aqua vitæ, or brandy wine, shall be import-
“ ed after the 1st of April 1661. into England,
“ but in such vessels, as are described above.

“ It is also enacted, that no currants or commo-
“ dities of the growth, production or manufacture
“ of the Ottoman empire, shall after the 1st of
“ September 1661. be imported into any of the
“ afore-mentioned places, but only in English
“ built vessels, and navigated as before, except it
“ be in such foreign ships, as are the built of
“ that place, of which the goods are the growth,
“ production, or manufacture, or of such port,
“ where the said goods are usually first shipped
“ for transportation, and whereof the master, and
“ three fourths of the mariners are of the said
“ place, under the forfeiture of ship and goods,
“ to be disposed of, as in the foregoing clause.

“ And to prevent all frauds used in colouring
“ and concealing aliens goods, it is enacted, that
“ all wines from France and Germany, that shall
“ be imported into his majesty's dominions after
“ the 30th of October 1660. in ships that shall
“ not be English, as above-mentioned, shall be
“ deemed aliens goods, and pay accordingly to
“ his majesty, and to the port into which they
“ shall come.

“ That all masts, timber, boards, foreign salt,
 “ pitch, tar, rosin, hemp, flax, Spanish and Por-
 “ tugal wines, and other merchandise above-men-
 “ tioned, that shall be imported into England after
 “ the 1st of April 1661. in ships, that shall not
 “ be English; and also all currants or commodi-
 “ ties of the growth, production or manufacture
 “ of the Ottoman empire, that shall be imported
 “ into England after the 1st of September 1661.
 “ except they be in English built shipping, and
 “ navigated as aforesaid, shall be deemed aliens
 “ goods, and pay accordingly to his majesty, and
 “ to the port into which they come.

“ And to prevent frauds in colouring and buy-
 “ ing foreign ships, it is enacted also, that after
 “ the 1st of April 1661. no foreign built ship or
 “ vessel shall be deemed a ship to England, and
 “ enjoy the privilege of such, till the proprietor of
 “ the said ship make it appear to the chief officer
 “ of the customs in the port next to the place of
 “ his abode, that he is not an alien, and take an
 “ oath before such officer, that such vessel was
 “ bought by him for a valuable consideration, ex-
 “ pressing the sum, as also the time, place and
 “ person from whom it was bought, and who
 “ are his part-owners, who shall also take the
 “ same oath, and that no foreigner hath any part,
 “ interest or share therein, and upon such oath
 “ he shall receive a certificate, and by virtue of it
 “ enjoy the privilege of an English built ship;
 “ and the officer shall keep a register of such cer-
 “ tificates, as shall be so given, and return a du-
 “ plicate thereof to the chief officers of the cus-
 “ toms at London for England, and Dublin for
 “ Ireland.

“ And all governors or officers that shall after
 “ the said 1st of April 1661. offend against the
 “ rules above-mentioned ; or shall allow the pri-
 “ vilege of an English ship to any foreign ships in
 “ any of this prohibited commerce, that such of-
 “ ficers or governors shall be put out of their
 “ places or governments.

“ But it shall be lawful for English ships navi-
 “ gated as aforesaid to import the commodities
 “ of the Streights or Levant seas into any of his
 “ majesty’s dominions, though they be not ship-
 “ ped from the very places whereof they are the
 “ growth or manufacture, but from the usual ports
 “ for lading of them within the said Streights or
 “ seas.

“ The same is allowed to the said ships in re-
 “ spect to the importation of the East India com-
 “ modities, that shall have been laden in the usual
 “ ports of those seas, southward and eastward of
 “ the Cape of Good Hope.

“ It is also allowed to the said ships to load in
 “ Spain the merchandise, &c. of the Canaries,
 “ and any other Spanish colonies ; and also in
 “ Portugal, those of the Azores, or any other
 “ Portuguese colonies.

“ This act does not extend to bullion, or mer-
 “ chandise taken by way of reprisal by English
 “ ships commissioned by his majesty or his suc-
 “ cessors, and navigated as aforesaid.

“ Nor does this act extend to lay aliens duty
 “ upon corn, the growth of Scotland, salt made
 “ in, or fish caught and cured by the people of
 “ Scotland, and imported directly in Scotch built
 “ ships, whereof the master and three fourths of
 “ the mariners are Scotch, or his majesty’s sub-
 “ jects ;

“ jects; nor upon any seal oyl of Russia imported from Scotland into England in English built shipping as aforesaid.

“ It is also enacted, that every French ship, that after the 20th of October 1660. shall come into any port of England or Ireland, and shall lade or unlade any goods, or take in, or set on shore any passengers, shall pay to the collector of his majesty's customs in such port the sum of 5 shillings for every ton, of which the said vessel is of burthen, and the burthen of the ship shall be estimated and determined by the king's officer.

“ And that the said French ships shall not be suffered to depart out of the said port, till the duty be fully paid, and that this duty shall be charged so long as the duty of 50 sols per ton, lately imposed by the French king, or any part thereof shall be collected upon the shipping of England lading in France, and 3 months after, and no longer.

“ It is also enacted, that from the 1st of April 1661. no sugars, tobacco, &c. of the produce of the English plantations, shall be transported from any of the said English plantations, to any port whatsoever, other than to such places as belong to his majesty, under pain of forfeiting ship and cargo.

“ And further, that after the 25th of December 1660. for every vessel sailing from any of his majesty's ports in Europe, for any English plantation in Africa, Asia, or America, sufficient surety shall be given, that in case the said vessel shall load any of the said commodities at any of those plantations, the same shall be brought

to

" to some port in his majesty's dominions, the
 " danger of the seas alone excepted ; and that the
 " security given shall be to the value of 1000 l.
 " if the ship shall be of less burthen than 100 tons,
 " and 2000 l. if it should be of greater burthen.
 " And the said ships sailing from any of the co-
 " lonies for Europe, shall be obliged to make a
 " declaration of the quantity and quality of their
 " cargo, and in presence of the governor give
 " bond in the manner, and to the value afore-
 " said, to carry the said cargo to some other of
 " his majesty's dominions. And that such go-
 " vernors, after the 1st of January 1661. shall
 " be obliged to send copies of such declarations
 " to the chief officers of the customs in London."

C H A P. XXXI.

*The nature of the territory of Holland, the quali-
 ty and other circumstances of its commerce and
 navigation in the four quarters of the world.*

UNDER the name of Holland we under-
 stand the seven united provinces of the low
 countries and some districts in Brabant, Flanders
 and Limbourg ; but yet this republick with
 such additions contains not so large a territory, as
 the kingdom of Galicia, exclusive of what it pos-
 sesses in the Indies, and its East and West India
 companies enjoy.

Its inhabitants are so skilful in theory, and vigi-
 lant in the practice of this important maxim of
 state, that other nations must acknowledge an infe-
 riority. For it is notorious, that in spite of a small
 sandy district, which nature has allotted them, they
 singly carry on more trade in all the four quarters

of the world, than the great powers of France and England united. To attain this, they avail themselves of very active principles, and a plan of traffick different from that of other states, and which the barrenness of their country obliges them to. And yet by the help of commerce they are become so populous, that were all their broad rivers, arms of the sea, gulphs, marshes, and wast land, converted into fruitful pastures, all would not suffice to maintain the inhabitants with food. But as a fourth part of that district is not cultivated, and its pastures are about another fourth, the rest being water, or land that yields neither fruit, grass, trees, or any thing useful in life, some writers insist that their harvests cannot supply a fourth of their own consumption, the worst circumstance a people can labour under.

It is also known, that their cold climate, sandy and excessive damp territory yields no wine, oyl, silk, wool, timber for buildings, or ships, wood to burn, or other necessities for food, &c. that are common, and more or less in all other countries. Nor have they any mines of gold, silver, or other metals to barter, and procure other things. Hence they cannot, like other kingdoms, form and lay out their commerce upon the principle of selling more of their own commodities and fruits to other nations, than they themselves purchase for their own food, and necessary demands. For though Holland has many fine manufactures of wool, silk and flax, and an extensive fishery, that yields a considerable and gainful trade, all this merchandise cannot balance the vast quantity of things, they must fetch from abroad, from the wants above-mentioned, and many other ; especially

ally the scarcity of grain, which they are supplied with from Poland and other northern countries; so as to import from thence above 8 millions of bushels one year with another, as we are told by persons of credit, as well for their own consumption in bread and biscuit, as that of the brewery and distilleries. However, so provident is this people, that after plentifully providing for their own expence they lay up considerable magazines of grain to supply other parts of Europe in years of scarcity, as they have done Portugal some years past.

Though each bushel of the 8 millions, they fetch from abroad for their own food, should lie them in but 15 reals vellon, it makes 8 millions of dollars yearly, and with the additional expence of wine, oyl and sugar, salt, dried fruits, wool, silk, hemp, cotton, camel and goat's hair; pitch, tar, salt petre, artillery, ball, muskets, ammunition, and other stores for war; spicery, ingredients for dying, and drugs, steel, iron, copper, tin, lead, timber, or to speak more properly entire forests, which they import from Norway, &c. not only for their houses and other buildings, but also for casks, and thousands of ships, small and great, which they want, and employ at home and abroad, and also many other things, their country is destitute of, and they fetch from foreign parts, it may hence be collected what millions would be necessary every year, and wanted for such large and expensive supplies, were they not to project a commerce more extensive, than their own manufactories, and fisheries warrant. For notwithstanding their manufactures be numerous and profitable, they are not of equal advantage

to this, as to other states, which have like establishments, since the whole price of the silk, wool, and other materials, which are foreign, as also the amount of what their workmen expend in bread, beer, and spirituous liquors, most of which is made of foreign grain, is really the property of those very countries, whence the above materials, and provisions, &c. are imported; and indeed the amount of both would go out of their dominions, were not their large and active commerce to supply, and prevent the loss by seasonable provisions, and pursuing a species of traffick more general and extended than other nations have. Thus by being expeditious and bold carriers by sea, they raise their principal and largest gain upon freights, and purchasing many commodities from one nation, and selling them to another, after they have supplied their own country, which serves them as a magazine and free port to receive and deposite vast quantities of goods and fruits collected from all the four quarters of the world, most of which are afterwards to be distributed over all the world, themselves being the carriers, and the remainder sold to foreigners in their own country.

C. H. A. P., XXXII.

The principal commodities and fruits bought up by the Hollanders from one kingdom and sold to others. The long and dangerous navigation they undertake for this traffick; the frequent returns of their fleets as well as those of Portugal; the uncertainty and tediousness of our own, though the voyages be shorter, and more safe.

TO specify some particulars of what the preceeding chapter has pointed out in a general way, I am to observe that spicery, saltpetre, copper, tin, woad, ebony, and other curious sorts of wood; silk and cotton manufactured, and in bundles; muslins, printed linnens, sugar, coffee, and tea; amber, pearls, diamonds, porcelain, &c. are commodities the Hollanders fetch from Persia, India, China, Japan, and other states of Asia, or from the coasts of Africk, and which they distribute all over Europe, and America; being aware that the principal commerce of the Dutch in the East, consists of immense quantities of spice, which they fetch from thence and afterwards transport to all parts of the world; but most to Spain, from whence our Indies are supplied.

The wines, brandies, oyls, wool, dried fruits, salt, saffron, tobacco, soap and sosa, ingredients from India for dying, &c. which (besides gold and silver) they export from Spain, are distributed afterwards by them all over Germany, Sweden, and other northern provinces, excepting what they leave in Holland for their own consumption and manufactures; and it is remarkable, that except soap, they transport from this kingdom no sort
of

of commodities, made of silk, wool, iron, steel, &c. that usually leave a profit to the manufacturer.

From France they fetch many commodities of silk, wool, &c. hats, gloves, stockings, lace of gold, silver, silk, and flax, a great quantity of hard ware and toys, as also linnens from Roan, Laval, Coutance, &c. glass, hair, paper, saffron, wine, brandy, dried fruits, oyl, rosin, some ingredients for dying, drugs, &c. and from England and Italy they import many silks, cloths, &c. and after supplying their own consumption, send the rest into Germany, and other parts of the North, excepting the vast quantities of silks, cloths, linnens, hard ware, and toys, they usually carry to Spain, where they also vend a great deal of cinnamon, wax, and all sorts of spicery, Russia leather, fish, printed linnens, &c. most of which (except fish) they purchase from foreign countries, both for the supply of these kingdoms, and to send them along with their own goods from Cadiz to America in the name of Spaniards; not to mention the considerable quantities they introduce into our Indies by the way of Curacao, and the Colony of Surinam, in Lat. 7°, and on the continent of North America. By these two channels from their own confession they introduce and vend in those dominions of his majesty the same kinds of merchandize, they send to Spain, and in return have gold, silver, sugar, cocoa, &c.

From Sweden, Muscovy, and Denmark, Norway, Germany, and other parts of the North, they export large quantities of ordnance, ball, muskets, pistols, steel, copper, iron, lead, leaf tin, wax, pitch, tar, salt petre, masts, timber and
lumber,

lumber, fables, Russia, and other sorts of leather; hemp, flax, Silesia linnens, wheat, barley, oats, &c. and after supplying their own wants, they export the rest to the southern provinces of Europe; part for the consumption of these kingdoms, and the remainder for America by way of Cadiz, or the above colonies of Surinam and Curaçao. Some of these and other commodities they send also to the coasts of Africk, and Asia in the Mediterranean; and as if they had monopolized the privilege of supplying the general wants of the whole world, they go on providing for every country in all its four parts, not so much with their own commodities, as those they export from other parts, supplying the scarcity and necessities of some, with the plenty and superfluity of other nations, without being discouraged by the risk, charge and inconveniencies of their long voyages from the north to the south, east and west, and and from the extremes of these to the north again; after many traverses, courses, and touching at several places. For the navigation from Holland to Japan, steering along the wide extended coasts of Europe, Africa, and Asia, alone contains above 11000 leagues, going and coming, which is above three times the voyage our Flotas and Galeons make in their passage to, and return from the Terra Firma, and New Spain.

Note. Notwithstanding the length and danger of the Dutch navigation, so dextrous and prudent are they in their management, that a numerous and strong fleet sails from Holland to East India, and another richly laden comes from thence annually. The Portuguese also for most part send

send out, and receive back two or three fleets from their West Indies every year. But we, that have Indies of greater extent, nearer and more wealthy, to our disgrace, have not the address to send out and receive a Flota from New Spain every year; nay that of 1722. was suspended, though there were two others not dispatched, so that by its sailing in 1723. there was a space of 3 years between the Flotas; and the delays we meet with in the Galeons are still greater; but my work does not admit me to launch out so far, as to enter into the occasion of it, or the causes whence it springs. But were one to judge by the effects, it might be said, that we take great care to embarrass the India trade to his majesty's subjects, and to encourage and enlarge it to foreigners. For theirs is indulged and extended, as much as that of his majesty's subjects is distressed and rendered impracticable by our own impositions; though from his great and princely measures, with the happy influence of peace, we have reason to hope for a remedy to these evils.

Some persons give for answer, that one of our Flotas is worth two of the Dutch, and three of the Portuguese. But let it be so, we shall still fall short of them in the amount of our India fleets; since they receive two or three in the same time we have but one; and I see no reason, that we submit to be inferior, or even upon a level with them, as in point of substance, and other advantages our Indies are far superior to theirs. Moreover these and other nations not only enjoy the principal of what they bring from their own Indies, but also most part of the treasures, that come in our Flotas and Galeons; and, by our imprudence they

they possess not only their own, but ours, too, and become rich and powerful, while we are poor, and infirm, as they themselves publish openly. I must add, that from the extended commerce of the Hollanders, not only in the East Indies, but every corner of the world, and the numbers of their own shipping, that arrive from all parts, it may be said without exaggeration, that they receive a rich fleet every day.

C H A P. XXXIII.

The causes of the lowness of the freights, and other advantages the Dutch ships enjoy; and why they make their own country as a sort of general magazine, to depofite foreign merchandife in order to distribute it afterwards in other parts of the world.

FROM the facts delivered under the two foregoing articles, it is manifest, that as the Dutch cannot raise a profitable commerce upon the sale of their own goods and fruits; for these cannot be a balance for the many things they want from abroad, they project and obtain it principally by the profit of freights already observed, and the purchase of vast quantities of goods from one nation to sell to another, after they have satisfied their own demands, by which traffick they make considerable gains, especially from the sale of their numerous East-India commodities. So that their trade in general is very different from that of other states and kingdoms. It is only that of Genoa, a small barren country, which bears some resemblance to it in miniature, as their principal gains arise too from what they buy of one nation and sell to another.

Some

Some persons fall into this reflection, and query, whether it would not be cheaper to have the merchandise, usually brought to Holland, and thence conveyed to other parts, directly from the places where it is the growth, production or manufacture, to the country where it is to be consumed, both for the Hollanders themselves; and others, as it would save the duties, however small, paid in Holland, and the charge of landing and reshipping them? To this may be answered; the countries, that are in want of the goods, generally find it more convenient to purchase them in Holland, than to import from the fountain head; and notwithstanding those charges, the Hollanders themselves esteem it their interest to land them in their own country, and afterwards export and distribute them abroad.

The convenience of foreigners in many sorts of merchandise (but not all) arises from hence, that in Holland, all or most of the goods brought thither from other places is commonly very cheap, notwithstanding the above duties and charges. For suppose both together, six or seven per cent, the Dutch vessels have a more considerable advantage from the low price of freight, over those of other nations. This great reduction is owing to two causes; the one is, the Dutch commerce is universal; and as they are carriers all over the world, they generally meet with goods or fruits to ship both outwards and inwards, and as the charge of the voyage is to be shared between the out set, and what they bring back, by having a constant freight they save half the expence they must be at, were they to sail of a cargo either outward or inward, a case that often happens to other nations,

nations, whose trade is not so extended and general. Another cause of their freights being very low is that a Hollander sails with fewer hands, and the charge of wages and provisions is less than that of other nations. These and other advantages are more than a balance for the small duties and charges upon imports into, and a re-exportation out of Holland.

With the same view of reducing the charge of freights, a very essential measure to cherish and preserve a large commerce by sea, they allow also provisions, and all necessaries to their navigation to be shipped free of some duties, and charged with others very low.

To this may be added, that were there not these circumstances to favour this cheapness, there are many commodities, not of the produce of Holland, that must be exported from thence, either by the Hollanders themselves, or other nations; such as pepper, nutmegs, cinnamon and other spices, and several commodities they bring from East India. This trade they have monopolised by their rich and powerful company; for though the French, English and Portuguese frequent some ports and coasts in those seas, the merchandise they bring over is trifling in comparison of what the Dutch carry directly to Amsterdam, and other ports of their own, and from thence distribute in the manner abovementioned.

As to the Hollanders themselves, usually finding it their interest to land at home most of the goods they import, and afterwards reship them for a foreign market, it is principally owing to this, that the wines, for instance, and brandies, oyls, dried fruits, &c. are imported from southern kingdoms,

doms, into Holland, where part is consumed, or sold to those nations, that go thither for them; and instantly their ships, at seasonable and stated times, are fitted out again for the trade of Muscovy, Germany, &c. and freighted not only with the remains of the fruits and commodities they had fetched from the south, but also many of their East and West India goods, and some of their own fabricks, making repeated voyages and freights in their own vessels, to distribute all these things according to the quantities of each sort wanted in the several places, they are bound to. Nor could these voyages be seasonable, and the distribution proportioned to the several markets, were their ships from the Indies and the southern parts of Europe only to touch at the ports of Holland, or without doing it, proceed with their entire cargo to the northern provinces. And they observe the same conduct with the merchandise, they export from the North, by landing and depositing it in Holland, in order to be reshipped and distributed by new embarkations in the Indies, and several parts of Europe, Africk, and Asia; and the same reason subsists against their carrying them directly thither from the places, whence they are exported. For the sake of all these conveniences, they chearfully pay the duties and other charges upon importation, warehouse-room, and re-exportation out of Holland. But I must not omit however, that this is the case only of merchandise in general, but not all. For it is well known, some ships from Sweden, Denmark, the Hans towns, and others of the North, come to the southern provinces of Europe, and trade for themselves directly in fruits and commodities; and
a few

a few ships from the southern parts do the same, bound to the northern, and return directly to their own ports.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The practice of the Hollanders in their duties upon exports and imports; whose policy, different from that of other states, may be pursued by us in the commodities and fruits, that come from America to Spain, for the reasons mentioned.

AS then the Dutch trade is of such a quality and extent, and attended with the circumstances above mentioned, and their country serves them as a free port and general warehouse of foreign merchandise, collected from the four quarters of the world, they could not manage it, were there charged upon goods, &c. bought of one kingdom to be transported to another, after paying the duties of exportation from thence, the regular duty of 10 or 15 per cent. at their entry into Holland, and the same on going out again, the commodities being foreign, as most part of what they trade in is so. In this case when they come to those parts, whither they are to carry them, the prices would be so high, that there would be no vent or consumption for them. It would be much cheaper for them to be transported directly from the places, of which they are the growth or manufacture, to those where they are to be consumed, without touching at, or landing and reshipping them in Holland. Nor would other nations go thither, as they now do, to supply themselves, if the commodities and fruits conveyed thither, as to a magazine, should be loaded with heavy duties at coming

in and going out, over and above the charge of landing and reshipping. On this account, as their case is singular, they have laid down, and pursue the plan of imposing so small a duty upon imports, and exports, whether goods, fruits, or materials, that it is generally from 2 to 5 per cent. some pass entirely free both inwards and outwards, and it is but a few particular goods or fruits, that happen to pay 8, 9, or 10 per cent. regulations, that are not a pattern for other states, whose nature, situation and circumstances are not the same as in Holland.

On this account permit me a remark in favour of the Spanish trade. I should think it our interest to pursue this very maxim of laying small duties upon exports and imports, in the commodities and fruits we bring from America to this kingdom. In this case there would come over larger quantities, especially of cacao, sugar, hides, tobacco, and curious sorts of wood ; and as the whole could not be consumed in Spain, by this means the exportation of them to foreign parts would be made easy, and we should deprive other nations of the opportunity and advantage of procuring them in the Indies. For they would find it more convenient to export them from Spain, after his majesty's subjects had reaped the benefit of the freight and some other advantages ; and the royal revenue had been augmented by the duties upon exports from the Indies, and imports into Spain ; and also their re-exportation from thence. Thus were they but to pay each time $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. his majesty would have an interest of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and his subjects the gains arising from the freights, purchase, sale, &c. By such means our general commerce in Europe,

India and elsewhere, would be also enlarged by these repeated navigations, and circulations of traffick: These benefits the Portuguese in some measure possess, managing so as to carry on themselves most part of the commerce of both Indies, and foreigners come in whole fleets to Lisbon, and other ports, to purchase and export tobacco, sugar, fine sorts of wood, hides, &c. brought thither by the Portuguese themselves.

To return to the Hollanders: I am to take notice, that notwithstanding the lowness of the duties in general, they never lose sight of that prudent maxim of France and England already mentioned, and practised elsewhere; that woven and other goods imported are charged higher than their own manufactures sent abroad; and materials imported pay somewhat less than the exported; nay, some of them are free, as may be seen in the following instances.

The Hollanders having always in view their spice trade, and conscious of small advantage from the vast quantities they bring from the East Indies, by a long, dangerous, and expensive navigation, if, at their arrival in Holland, there be not a proportionable vent or demand for their spicery all over the world, have so ordered, that what comes in their own ships, pays but a very small duty as an import, and none at all upon exportation.

Cacao, a commodity they have a considerable trade in, fetching most of it from our Indies, pays not quite 4 per cent. imported, and the same exported.

Extensive also is their trade in herrings all over Europe, therefore all the fish caught, and entred

by their own shipping, pays nothing at entry inwards, and a trifle outwards.

A piece of gold or silver stuff imported pays 12 florins *, and but 4 exported.

A piece of French cloth imported pays 50 stivers, but Dutch cloth exported only 4 stivers.

A pound of fringe, twist, and other silk trimmings, pays 10 stivers imported, and 4 exported.

A piece of velvet, or other silks imported 60 stivers, and 10 exported.

Hats imported pay 8 per cent. of their value, but are exported free.

A quintal of gunpowder imported, 70 stivers, and 10 exported; for with the salt petre they bring from East India, and the other ingredients, they make large quantities of gunpowder, and carry on a considerable trade in it, over and above the vast consumption in their own garisons and navy.

A quintal of brass ordnance imported 40 stivers, and 20 exported.

A musket 10 stivers imported, and 4 exported; and in the same proportion for other merchandise.

In respect to materials they observe a contrary rule for the reasons abovementioned. So that silk in bundles, cotton, hemp, and hair pay lower duties inwards, than outwards. Wool from Spain and Germany is entred free, from the great advantage they draw from this material, as it has been already observed. They have prohibited also the importation of certain goods, no doubt for

* Nine florins in the exchange of Flanders and Holland usually make a Spanish doblon, so that a florin, which is 20 stivers, is equivalent to $6\frac{2}{3}$ reals Vellon. But there is a variation in the exchange. A quintal at Amsterdam contains a hundred pounds of 16 ounces; and, as it is equal to the quintal of Paris already mentioned, weighs somewhat more, than a hundred Castile pounds.

fear of prejudice to their own manufactures; and have imposed double duties upon whale oyl, imported into Holland upon foreign bottoms.

C H A P. XXXV.

Examples from ancient history of Holland, and the other provinces in the low countries, in regard to duties, &c. an extract from the abovementioned book, intituled, The commerce of Holland, &c.

“ **B**ALDWIN the young, earl of Flanders, much contributed to the improvement of the trade of his subjects by means of free fairs, about the year 960, in several parts of his dominions, which drew thither all his neighbours to supply themselves with merchandise, particularly cloths and linnens, because they paid no duty at their going out of the country. This traffick was preserved, and much advanced during three centuries, but the successors of Baldwin laying many duties upon the fabricks of the Flemings †, caused great numbers of weavers in the woollen and linnen manufactories to raise cruel seditions at Ghent in the year 1301, and many went off to several parts of Brabant.

“ The dukes of Brabant, not knowing how to take advantage of the errors of the Flemings, fell into the same mistake a few years after, and laid several heavy taxes upon the manufactures. This also raised seditions in several parts of Brabant, and particularly in Louvain, where the weavers killed several of the magistrates, and afterwards to escape punishment, fled into Eng-

† By the same means the Spanish manufactories have been destroyed, but the weavers out of their great loyalty never raised any seditions.

“ land and Holland. Those that went over to
 “ England gave them the first insight into the
 “ woollen manufactory, and taught that nation to
 “ work up their own wool to the great prejudice
 “ of trade in Flanders; for it is certain that the
 “ English till that time had sold their wool to the
 “ Flemings, and received cloth in payment for
 “ it.

“ Besides the weavers of Brabant, that went
 “ away into Holland, many Flemings did also the
 “ same. Most of these settled at Leyden, where
 “ a woollen manufactory ever since maintained
 “ itself in great reputation. Heavy imposts there-
 “ fore made most of the Flandrian manufactu-
 “ rers to desert their own country and pass into
 “ Brabant; and from this province to others
 “ upon the Maes, and into England, where the
 “ English have improved cloths to as high perfec-
 “ tion, as can be desired.

“ The English and Dutch, desirous of preserv-
 “ ing such important manufactories in their own
 “ country, were very cautious of loading them
 “ with heavy impositions.

“ The Spanish provinces *, formerly the seat
 “ and center of a large commerce, has scarce any
 “ at this time, upon account of the great vigilance
 “ of the Hollanders, and particularly those of
 “ Amsterdam, to throw obstacles and prevent a
 “ revival of it in Flanders, and especially at Ant-
 “ werp. At the treaty of 1609 the Spaniards
 “ would oblige them to take off the imposts, laid
 “ during the war upon the navigation of the
 “ Scheld, and other rivers; for these being very
 “ high, were a prejudice to the trade of the Spa-

* By this name the provinces of the Low Countries, subject to the king of Spain, may be distinguished from the seven provinces of Holland.

“ nish low Countries by those rivers. But the
 “ states of Holland would never consent to it, in
 “ hopes of erasing by degrees the trade of the
 “ low countries subject to the crown of Spain,
 “ and transporting it to their own country.”

In the same book, speaking of the Dutch trade in Germany by the rivers Elbe, Wezer, Rhine, Maes, and the Ems, are the following expressions.

“ The States of Holland have always taken
 “ particular care to prevent any new impost or
 “ tax upon the navigation of these five rivers, by
 “ which they carry on a very profitable trade,
 “ make themselves formidable, and extend their
 “ dominion far beyond its old limits. For 6 years
 “ ago, they made themselves masters of the whole
 “ Electorate of Cologne, and also of Liege.”

C H A P. XXXVI.

Other remarks upon the Dutch trade in Europe, &c.

THE Hollanders have set up a company under the name of the West India Company, and their trade is carried on by the colonies, they possess in the Island of Curaçao, and at Surinam.

Many advantageous privileges and encouragements are granted to the inhabitants of these two colonies, and the trade, which the company carries on there. For they pay tonnage but 5 reals plate at the outset, and as much at their return* ; and for the merchandise they carry from Holland

* In Spain it is usual to pay from 30 to 40 dollars tonnage on the vessels, that go to the Indies in the Flotas and Galeons ; and as far as 80 dollars for a licence, besides the tax to the seminary of Sevil.

to these colonies, and from thence to Holland; but $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ad valorem.

This nation sends a great many goods to the above colonies, confessing in their own books; printed in Holland, that most part of them are consumed in South America, by means of a trade with the Spaniards upon the continent; and they export from those parts great quantities of sugar, cacao, and pieces of eight.

To conduct the navigation and commerce of Italy, and other parts of the Mediterranean, they have a distinct chamber or company. The ships in this trade cannot be of less force than from 20 to 25 guns, nor carry fewer hands than from 60 to 70. Every year they send into those seas 3 or 4 fleets, convoyed by two men of war at least, each of them from 40 to 50 guns, which pass from port to port, loading and unloading, and are afterwards dispatched to those parts of the Levant, they were last bound to. The time they are to stay at every port is limited before they sail, by an order of the said chamber.

Ships bound to Venice usually go to no other port, but the rest for most part touch at Marseilles, Genoa, Leghorn, Naples and Messina, and are then dispatched to their respective ports, Smyrna, Alexandria and other parts of the Levant.

Ships outward bound from Holland, for the east, west, south or north pay tonnage but 5 Dutch stivers, something short of a real of plate, and 10 stivers at their return, and this but once a year, though they make several trips in that time; but the vessels employed in the herring and whale-fisheries towards Groenland, are exempt from this duty.

One of the best branches of trade the Hollanders possess, is the fishery for herrings, cod, baccalao, salmon, soals, and whales, and especially that of herrings and baccalao, by which they acquire vast riches, particularly from catholick countries upon account of their many vigils. They have therefore employed variety of measures to preserve these two fisheries, as well as a market for them; and in particular are at great pains in drying all the herrings that seem not to be fine, and curing the rest in a proper time; that the salt be good, and sufficient in quantity, and the barrels they are put into, sweet, and without any defect, in order to keep up the reputation and consumption this commodity has met with in all parts. In this fishery the Dutch usually employ upon the coasts of England 3000 ships, manned with 15000 hands, as the above treatise, *The commerce of Holland*, asserts; adding, that they catch and vend every year above 300,000 tons of fish, which, at the rate of 200 florins per ton, amount yearly to 75 millions of livres, or above 20 millions of dollars, of which sum, the country is benefited two thirds, and the remainder discharges the expence of the said fishery. Therefore if it be considered, says the author of this book, that all the ships employed in these fisheries are built in Holland, and all the cordage, sails, and casks for the fish made there too; and that they are supplied with salt and provisions for so many fishermen, we must be sensible of the incredible number of persons and families maintained by the fishery alone, without reckoning those that carry the said fish to market in almost every corner of the world; from whence they

they have returns in commodities, fruits and large sums of money.

For the better encouragement of this great and profitable trade in herrings, they have ordered, that what they themselves bring from the coast of Great Britain, or elsewhere, be charged with no duty inwards, and pay outwards but 3 or 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. according to their goodness.

A great number of hands is also employed in the manufactures of silk, wool, hemp, and flax. For the three first, the materials are imported from abroad, as also some part of the flax; though they have large quantities in their own country.

In like manner they carry on considerable traffick in printed books, and are vigilant in securing the vent they have for them in foreign parts.

One of the principal means, that have made the navigation of the Hollanders increase and flourish, is the advantage of navigating and carrying cheaper than other nations, whence it is that they can under-sell other merchants; and many foreigners trade also upon Dutch bottoms from the cheapness of freight, their punctuality, and the security of convoys to their merchant ships; to which may be added a reputation for fair accounts and strict honour in every thing intrusted to them.

In the above treatise, *The commerce of Holland*, it is also said, that the house of Austria, seeing the great damage the states of Holland would sustain, were they cut off from the trade of the Baltick, made an attempt in the reign of Ferdinand II. to assume the sovereignty of this sea; and several times since, to disturb this branch of their commerce, but always to little purpose, and that one
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of the fundamental policies of Holland was to prevent if possible the merchants of the north from trading considerably with the south or western states of Europe, and also any considerable number of these from a commerce in the north. The author adds, that this republick situated between both, will always prevent, as much as possible, the trade of Europe from being carried on without its assistance; and not fail of success, so long as they have the secret of selling cheaper, and of supplying others in Holland with goods almost at the price of the very places, whence they export them from.

Among other things, they import from Courland great quantity of linseed, from which an oyl is drawn, and there is great consumption of it in Holland. In Flanders and in France they also want a great deal to sow; because their flax degenerates, and is not good for seed.

Besides an ambassador which the states have at the court of Constantinople, in order to maintain their commerce, they have settled in the principal ports of the Levant consuls and vice-consuls to administer justice to the Dutch merchants, that reside in those places; where they also have many factors employed in their trade.

The Chinese are reckoned to be the most dextrous in commerce; for the advancement of which they have made rivers navigable, and opened several canals, to facilitate the carriage of goods and fruits from one province to another at a small expence; and are also anxious to keep their roads in good repair, and have provisions cheap in their country; as it is the principal means to have their merchandise so too, and a sufficient vent for it.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Examples from Holland and other powers in regard to an exportation and traffick in arms, and military stores. A remark on this subject.

THE Hollanders possess also a considerable traffick from the purchase and sale of arms, ammunition, and other warlike stores, which they import from Sweden, &c. and sell in vast quantities to most other nations, even to their neighbours, without any dread of their turning them against Holland. They are sensible, that were they not to receive them from Holland, they might be supplied elsewhere, and the Dutch disappointed of the profits arising from the traffick, which is the most powerful ammunition and means of conquest. For it buys arms, gunpowder, men and horses; raises, and maintains vast armies of regular troops, fits out powerful fleets, purchases and negotiates alliances, good will, and every thing that has a tendency, or is necessary to preserve and extend our dominions. It seems therefore convenient on many occasions, after our own armies and magazines are sufficiently provided, to allow the exportation of arms, ammunition, and warlike stores, provided it be with passports, for the reasons abovementioned, and because allowing foreigners, as we now do, to export our iron from Cantabria, (a fine material for fire arms, and other uses) and this too without paying any duty, or tax, on account of an immunity those provinces enjoy in exporting their own commodities, we give them an excellent material almost for nothing, to work up into fire arms, and other valuable wares;
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by means of which they are provided with them, and we reap no more advantage than 4. dollars, the ordinary value of a quintal of iron (which is 150 pounds there) at the time of exporting it. While on the other hand, were 150 pound weight of this material wrought up by ourselves into fire arms and swords, hard ware, &c. and sold to foreigners, the same weight or quantity manufactured, would no doubt yield us above 16 instead of 4 dollars. If then the Cantabrians now export, for instance, the amount of 300,000 dollars in iron, we should receive 1,200,000 whenever sent abroad in fire arms, and other curious wares ; and visible is the great advantage that would result from it to his majesty's subjects, and the commerce of Spain in general.

This convenience seems also to be attended with many other considerable advantages ; I shall mention but one. It will be a means of securing a great many forges, and artificers in fire arms, and other instruments of war, for the service of the monarchy. At this time are forged yearly in Cantabria and Catalonia from 18 to 20000 fire arms, and a few swords to supply the constant demands of the infantry, cavalry, and dragoons, the magazines of our fortresses, and the garisons in Africa, and the Indies ; and as the number of artificers will naturally bear some proportion to the vent and consumption of the manufacture, we are to imagine the mechanicks now employed in those works to be proportioned to the 18 or 20000 arms now forged there annually ; and consequently there will be a want of masters and workmen, whenever his majesty, either in time of war, or any other emergence, shall require an annual supply

ply of 30, 40 or 50000 muskets. But in case of an exportation by passports, there will be an increase of hands in this branch, and daily improvement in the fabrick; and in time of war, or any other pressing occasion, by laying an embargo upon the exportation, they will be all at work for his majesty's armies and magazines, and he will by this means ensure a supply for all his extraordinary demands. Moreover, it seems reasonable, that under passports, and in a certain proportion, there might be an allowance to export other military stores, such as ball, iron cannon, bombs, granados and powder, of all which more may be manufactured than his majesty shall have occasion for, out of the plenty of materials there are in Spain; provided always it be understood, that this and every other extraction be in such quantities, at such times, and in a shape prudence shall direct, and after his majesty's armies and garisons are well stored, in imitation of what is done in France, England, Holland, Sweden, Italy, &c. and the prohibition should only be continued in respect to infidels and other states, that shall not be sure friends. But as this is a very delicate point, and an extraction of these commodities is opposed by ancient laws and statutes, though many of them were made at a time Spain was in a very different situation, Moors and Saracens being in possession of several of its provinces, I shall proceed no farther than a hint, without presuming to pronounce a formal opinion, and refer myself to the tribunals and ministers, whom it concerns, and who will be able to decide with more prudence*.

C H A P.

[*] In support of this opinion, it is remarkable, that in the actual contract made for the founding of artillery, and other commodities of

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Why the Dutch East India company is very rich and powerful. The ruin and tragical end of other companies in Europe ; and the danger a new one set up in the Low Countries, subject to the house of Austria, is exposed to.

ONE of the reasons why the Dutch East India company flourishes, and is become the richest and most powerful of all other, we know of, is its being absolute, and invested with a kind of sovereignty, and dominion, more especially over the many ports, provinces, and colonies, it possesses in those parts. For it appoints magistrates, admirals, generals and governors, sends and receives embassies from kings and sovereign princes, makes peace and war at pleasure, and by its own authority ; administers justice to all, appoints tribunals to judge in their name, with plenary power and no appeal ; punishes and remits offences, bestows rewards becoming the dignity of kings, settles colonies, builds fortifications, levies troops, maintains numerous armies and garisons, fits out fleets and coins money. And though there is acknowledged a dependance upon the states general, it may be said they seldom exert their power ; and while the republick preserves the right of sovereign-

of cast iron in the founderies of Lierganes and Cabada, it has been stipulated, that whenever his majesty shall have no occasion for all the artillery, that shall be manufactured, the undertaker is to be allowed, either by licence from his majesty, the master of the ordnance, or other officer charged with the care of it, the privilege of selling a certain quantity to his majesty's subjects, and the allies and confederates of this crown, together with ball proper for it, as it was granted in the preceding contracts.

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ty, it tacitly leaves the exercise and possession of it to the merchants of this company. These vast powers were, and still are requisite to cherish and preserve this flourishing branch of trade, and the proprietors justly merited them. For by their own vigilance, fatigue and expence they conquered, and preserve all the countries, they possess in those parts of Asia, and their fortresses on the coast of Africa for refreshment, refitting and protection of their ships. But such extraordinary powers, indulgences and privileges, though necessary for the support of so rich a vein of commerce, could not without great inconvenience be dispensed in monarchies and other great kingdoms, where companies should be established with an exclusive right of trade in those provinces, which their sovereigns and lawful masters are in peaceable possession of. The scheme of setting these up, with power or leave to plant colonies, and carry on trade in foreign parts, as the Dutch East India company projected, and succeeded in, raising itself upon the spoils of the Portuguese, and afterwards at the expence of the English, might be attended with great danger, and inconvenience, especially, if the trade projected on this plan should prove so extensive, as to raise the jealousy of other powers.

To these may be added other considerations, that credit has suffered much from these commercial associations in many parts of Europe, as it has lately happened from that in France, known by the name of the Mississippi, in which was united the old East and West India companies, with additional privileges; and from that of the South sea in England. For as both these were raised to an excessive and vain height of expectation by the weakness

weakness of many, the blind avarice of some, and the subtil villany of others, they ended in a tragedy, that caused the lamentation, clamours, and ruin of many, and a despair, that brought others to a fatal end.

Several other companies of an inferior degree, and less character have also miscarried in certain Northern countries, especially England and France, either for want of a sufficient capital, or because the directors, agents and other dependants abused the trust reposed in them ; from whence ensued the ruin of above 30 companies formed in France at several times, in different provinces and upon various plans.

In the provinces of Flanders and Brabant, now in possession of the Austrians, is just set up a new East India company with a capital or fund of six millions of florins, which is above two millions and a half of dollars, and with great hopes of gain and prosperity, but I am jealous their great expectation of success, as well as their very capital must come to nothing. Though the candour and sincerity which induced the inhabitants to so large a subscription, and arduous undertaking, deserves a better fate, as they were drawn into it rather by a publick spirit than prudence. For they have not well considered, that besides the ordinary risk of such companies from a navigation so extensive and hazardous, preparations very chargeable, and a trade so distant, they have also to struggle with the enmity and all the power of the Dutch by sea and land, not only in their neighbourhood, but in the course of a long navigation, and on the seas and coasts of the very East Indies, where by force, address and alliances they raised them-

selves, and still support a great superiority in spite of the English, Portuguese and other Europeans, that have some trade there, but so inconsiderable, that all together is not equal to what the Hollanders enjoy singly, and who could give law to the very English in 1662, obliging them to a peace very advantageous to Holland, and this company in particular, after a bloody and expensive war, that arose from jealousy and rivalry in commerce. If then, as common prudence directs, we are to judge of the future, and imagine what is likely to happen by past events, we must be persuaded, that should the above company not fail, and sink under its own weight and misfortunes, the states of Holland will themselves exert their utmost power to destroy it; first by publick and private negociations, and are these insufficient, by availing themselves of the force of arms, so that in the natural course of things, no hope or refuge appears left the Flemings and Brabanters, but from the French and English, that hitherto seem averse to the prosperity and continuance of this company, discovering their true interest, and changing their opinion in favour of it. For in my apprehension it will be for the advantage of England, France, and even Portugal to tolerate and encourage it from reasons of state, and self-preservation, which put all princes and republicks upon reducing the power of such, as aspire after universal dominion, or have already acquired it, as the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Medes, Persians, Greeks and Romans did, and against whom those nearest to danger, usually form confederacies, and court even distant alliances to balance the great and ambitious power that threatens them; and to reduce it to an equality,

or

or even lower, that all may live secure, and confined within their own limits. If the power of the Hollanders, though great in Europe, does not put princes and states upon their guard, they must possess a kind of universal monarchy or dominion in the southern provinces, islands and seas of Asia, from Arabia to Japan, subjecting by all possible ways many of the powers of Europe to their law, in every thing respecting that important branch of trade; a thing, which, besides the dishonour of it, very much interferes with their interest. For in those parts, Holland commands and directs every thing at pleasure, bringing sovereigns under subjection, conquering or reducing large and plentiful provinces, after it laid the foundation of its empire upon the spoils of Portugal, and enlarged it, by prescribing narrow limits to the jurisdiction and commerce of the English, and disappointing or reducing that of the French and other Europeans. For this and other reasons, good policy seems to suggest, that the English, French and Portuguese, interested and aggrieved, should unite, and not only tolerate, but encourage this new company, and receive it as an auxiliary, and confederate power to assist in humbling the pride of the Dutch, and weakening their universal dominion in the East Indies, that all may live independant, and not under a subjection, that bears hard upon their honour and commerce.

Though this digression seems foreign to the main point I proposed, such remarks and observations may some time be of advantage to us, by virtue of the right we have, and the great advantage we may gain by carrying on a trade too in those parts by way of New Spain; or in a direct

course to the Philippine islands along the coasts of Africa and Asia. To attain this, it would be highly proper there should be no absolute dominion on those seas and coasts, which by its power can embarrass us in the attempt, against all reason and justice.

C H A P. XXXIX.

The difficulties and inconveniencies that attend an establishment of trading companies in Spain.

THOUGH I am now treating of the rules and progress of the Dutch trade, as the subject has itself led me to speak of their companies, it is not amiss here to offer my sentiments, in respect to the difficulties and inconveniencies, that oppose the making such establishments in Spain. What has induced me to it, is meeting with some persons very strenuous, and talking warmly in favour of such an association to conduct all the trade between this kingdom and the Indies, which would be the same thing, as allowing a certain number of merchants to monopolise it. I have seen also proposals in a rough draught for the appointment and conduct of it, but in my apprehension, such a company would rather be injurious than useful here, not barely because we could not, in order to settle and secure its continuance, invest it with all the powers and extensive privileges, that of Holland, which resembles a sovereignty, enjoys, and for other reasons abovementioned, the vivacity of the nation can never be reconciled to it, or engage with the coolness and temper such projects stand in need of, to succeed, and be permanent, or have all that patience, which
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the slowness of the returns demands; especially since there arises no profits in the first years, when usually the expences run higher than the gains. This apprehension is also confirmed by the disappointment the contract met with, which was obtained in the year 1714, and passed in the shape of a company, for the trade of the Honduras, and also the confusion and other cross incidents that befell the victualling contract a little before, whence the accompts, it seems, cannot be yet settled; so that the proprietors are ignorant, whether they are gainers or losers, though there be some reason to dread the latter; not so much from the prices, as the little harmony and agreement in the direction. As therefore recourse to this sort of company is loaded with difficulties, slow and of uncertain success, I do not think it an adequate measure, nor effectual enough to afford the speedy remedy which the pressing wants of the monarchy require, and the evils it labours under. I can also add, that the principal advantage of commerce does not arise either from its being carried on by companies, or stated fleets, or even a trade open to all his majesty's subjects; but from its being carried on, at least in the main, with the commodities manufactured in our own country. In this case we should not only gain a great deal of money, but also detain it at home for the reasons given above. But suppose there were a company in Spain, very grand and rich, and it should open a large commerce in America, or elsewhere, availing itself of foreign commodities, as it is mostly practised at this time (and would be then too, so long as we want many good manufactures, and at the ordinary prices) the chief part of the gains would no doubt fall to the

share of those foreign nations, that had furnished the goods, and the amount of them center in their respective countries. For trading by companies, made up of a certain number of proprietors, or individuals, who, without being associated, are yet subject to the rules of a flota, is the same in effect; it is a change of mere form, not an alteration in the main; in mode, not in substance; which always depends upon its being carried on with our own commodities and fruits, at least in general; a point, that would not be secured by rich and powerful companies, for these or any other proprietors whatsoever would be always seeking out where they might have goods at the lowest rates, and proper for the market, as all persons in trade do. Nay, were it a condition in the charter of the company, that all the goods should be of the merchandise and fruits of Spain, we might with reason dread, that as buying at the dearest rate is in some sort a violence to the law of nations, and contrary to the order of nature, this condition would not be observed in the cargoes, especially since most of the commodities are shipped at this time in the flotas and galeons, by admeasurement, without ever examining or knowing either the quality or quantity of the goods, every bale or chest contains, from its being a great vexation and injury to have them opened, as we are assured not only by merchants of good sense and veracity, but also by many of the officers concerned in the dispatch of the said flotas and galeons. Moreover, so long as foreign commodities continue to be cheaper, upon account of the excessive duties laid upon our own, they will secure the means and advantage of transporting them to our Indies, either

either by the way of Cadiz, or by an illicite commerce, shipping them for those parts; or indirectly under the screen of their own colonies. So that all these discourses, reflections, or provisions, tend always to one point; that our sole remedy is from manufactories, cherishing, improving and preserving these by the help of immunities, and other encouragements, that have been recommended in general, and shall be particularised hereafter.

Some that favour trading companies in Spain build upon a supposition, that by this means more money will be employed to extend the commerce; but in my narrow apprehension the contrary will happen; and to support my opinion, I shall offer such reasons as occur to me: that by comparing them with what those of different notions will no doubt alledge, every person may be enabled to judge whether side carries most probability.

It is well known, that whenever we project any of these companies to monopolise a certain commerce allotted to it, we usually agree upon a determinate and limited sum to be disbursed, made a joint stock, and expended in fitting out ships, the purchase of goods and incidental charges. This is distributed into shares of a certain moderate value, viz. about 2 or 4000 dollars, that each person, according to his fortunes, may put into the common stock the sum, he shall be able or willing to subscribe, and be entitled to a number of shares in proportion. In this way set out the famous Dutch East India company, that is now so flourishing, upon the bare capital of six millions and a half of florins, which is somewhat under three millions of dollars. Upon the same plan the Ostend company is now forming itself, upon a fund of six

millions of florins, and a day is fixed for every one to declare the sum he is willing to subscribe, and to sign the books, obliging himself to pay it in at the times, that shall be appointed.

After the expiration of this term, and an entry made of the several sums, that make up the capital agreed upon, the books are closed, and the commerce is monopolised by that set of merchants, who have disbursed their money, and acquired stock or a right to the profits, subject also to the losses in proportion to the sum each proprietor has subscribed. Nor do they usually admit others, that would purchase an interest in the company, as soon as it is once formed, or ever after. Hence the door is shut to all increase of the capital for extending the trade, which for the first years is mostly carried on with loss, as it happened to this very company in Holland; and afterwards, though it turn out successful, the trade is for most part very confined; for sometimes they expend a moiety, nay two thirds in purchasing or building ships, in arming and fitting them out; in the pay of the officers, sailors, factors and other dependants; in establishing, fortifying and garisoning colonies, transporting thither at a great expence families, troops, ordnance and ammunition; and in other necessary charges, reserving but a limited fund for the purchase of commodities to trade with, upon which depends their gain or loss; and it is observable, that when the undertaking turns out well, the profits come in very slowly. But if, by flotas regulated and provided by sovereigns, and other royal encouragements, trade is carried on open and free for every subject, each on his own account and risk, the number of adventurers is augmented
either

either by moneyed men, or proprietors of vineyards, &c. (of which there are many in Andalusia) or the clothiers and others, that have manufactories of their own. And the case will be, that many who in some years have not money, goods or fruits, and therefore cannot be proprietors at the time this company is set up, may have them in other years and be able to traffick, either by sending them abroad themselves, or by factors, which they could not do, at least so much to their advantage, were the trade before-hand monopolised by a company, for in such a case the only refuge of the farmer and manufacturer is to sell their goods and fruits at low prices to the company's factors, who would ship them off and sell them in the Indies, principally to the gain of the company, and advantage of the merchants who compose it, (and no doubt many foreigners would have an interest in it) while both our manufacturers, and farmers would be greatly injured, contrary to all good policy, and the very laws of the kingdom, that so much favour and recommend them to our protection.

A farther proof, that in a commerce open and free for every subject, on the account and risk of private traders, much more money is usually employed than when it is monopolised and under the limitations of a company, I am to observe, that in the flota, that sailed from Cadiz to New Spain in 1720, there was shipped to the value of above ten millions of dollars, by the accompts of his majesty's officers for the amount of the duties raised upon it, and charged only by the register; and as in such large cargoes, and in the hurry things are usually transacted from the shortness of the
time

time and other circumstances, frauds and abuses are unavoidable, it is apprehended, there would pass unregistred at least two millions, including the indulgences usually made in those very duties to ecclesiastical societies, missionaries, &c. so that the whole cargo would amount, even before it was shipped, to above 12 millions of dollars. And the cargoes of the other flotas and galeons have been nearly of the same value in the outset, while it is notorious, that no fleet of the famous companies in England and Holland has sailed out of Europe with goods and fruits of half the value. Our disgrace is, that most part of what is shipped at these times on board our flotas and galeons is the property of foreigners. But this is not owing to the trade being carried on, either by companies, or private hands, each at their own charge and risk, but to our mismanagement in the important article of manufactures, and the exportation of them, as it has been already observed elsewhere.

C H A P. XL.

Other cautions drawn from the very Dutch East India company, and which make one diffident of the success of those, that shall be set up by other powers.

THIS very flourishing Dutch East India company, that met with so great success at its setting out, and by some favourable opportunities, extended itself so much, seems to have had its distresses from the frauds and embezzlements, which some of the proprietors were guilty of, so that it could never have stood these losses, and answered its growing demands, but from the vast riches it possessed; riches that no other nation in the world ever

ever acquired, or can easily do, as may be seen both from what has been already advanced, and the nine following articles, which I have thought proper to insert here out of the above treatise, *The commerce of Holland*.

“ It is easy to see by these particulars, that the
 “ trade of the Indies must yield immense profits ;
 “ for besides the dividends every year paid to the
 “ proprietors, it can raise funds for all the exorbi-
 “ tant charges it is obliged to supply in the In-
 “ dies and in Europe, for the payment of all its
 “ officers, directors, agents and dependants, sol-
 “ diers and sailors, fortifications and ammunition
 “ for the forts, for the building, freight and victu-
 “ alling of a great number of ships, and other
 “ vessels, and for the preservation and increase of
 “ their maritime force.

“ After all these disbursements, its clear annual
 “ gains usually rise up to three millions of gold,
 “ which is near 50 millions of livres, including
 “ the amount of the returns, and all charges.

“ The immense gains this company had made
 “ since its first establishment tempted us* in the
 “ year 1664. to engage in the same commerce,
 “ but experience has taught us, that what is good
 “ for the Dutch, is not always convenient for
 “ others. In truth this commerce, that so much
 “ enriches them (by their being proprietors of the
 “ Spice Islands) can never be advantageous to a
 “ state, or its subjects, when they employ ready
 “ money to purchase them very dear at second
 “ hand, with a profit of 20 per cent. or take
 “ merchandise of them to destroy their own ma-
 “ nufactures.

* He speaks of the French.

“ This is what has really happened to us; and
 “ ever since his majesty prohibited the use of
 “ printed linnens in his kingdom, we see the ma-
 “ nufactories of our stuffs sensibly revive.

“ Moreover the gains of the company would
 “ be much more considerable were they served in
 “ the Indies with fidelity and strict justice. It is
 “ fully convinced, that most part of their officers
 “ and dependants, great and small, though it gives
 “ them very large salaries, and these well paid,
 “ fail not of making great fortunes at the expence
 “ of the company's interest. This is visible by
 “ all those, that come from the Indies, and have
 “ had authority, or posts there.

“ However great the distance of these places
 “ may be, it would not be impossible to reform
 “ most of the abuses, which the company's of-
 “ ficers are guilty of in the Indies; but as the ge-
 “ nerality of them are relations, or allied to, and
 “ often creatures of the directors, they are usual-
 “ ly incapable of the employments they possess,
 “ and it is the reason that induces the company
 “ not to be very rigorous in examining their ac-
 “ compts. It is even said, that the directors
 “ screen them, because they share in the profits.

“ The company's officers in Europe are not
 “ less attentive to their own interest; and we are
 “ told that the directors, who are charged with
 “ the purchase of merchandise, or inspect the
 “ shipping, or fit out and victual them, in short,
 “ all that are in any office, which gives them a
 “ share in the management, find a way to im-
 “ prove their fortune and their salaries conside-
 “ rably. But nothing so much prevents good
 “ oeconomy in the company, as taking directors
 “ out

“ out of the body of the magistrates, though the
 “ company’s charter runs, that they shall be all
 “ merchants without any employment under the
 “ states general, or any particular province. How-
 “ ever, as soon as there is a vacancy in the direc-
 “ tion, the magistrates never fail of canvassing
 “ for it, in order to have the influence and salary
 “ annexed to it.

“ Of the 17 directors in the disposal of the city
 “ of Amsterdam, 12 of them are filled by these
 “ gentlemen ; and as they have sufficient employ-
 “ ment otherwise, they cannot have leisure to at-
 “ tend the business of the company, so much as
 “ is necessary. All the other proprietors complain
 “ often of these abuses, but still provide no re-
 “ medy.”

I have thought proper to enlarge pretty much
 upon the establishment and use of companies, as
 it is one of the capital points in commerce ; and as
 I have observed some ministers and others very
 zealous for their establishment here ; and I was
 unwilling that our attention, time and money,
 which may be employed in measures more inter-
 esting, and sure to succeed, should be lavished
 upon vain undertakings.

C H A P. XLI.

*Under what circumstances companies are conve-
 nient, and even necessary in trade. The French
 and Dutch carry on very considerable branches of
 commerce without them.*

THE general rule laid down in the two fore-
 going chapters has, I think, and may admit
 of exceptions. There are cases, that render an asso-
 ciation,

ciation, and joint stock of several rich merchants, convenient and necessary to settle, and prosecute a commerce to advantage; when, for instance, their king has no sovereignty in distant countries, where the traffick is to be, nor men of war, or other means to convoy the merchant ships; or he does not think proper to employ his armaments in remote expeditions, and in favour of a trade so far off and hazardous. In these instances, it is usually apprehended necessary for a certain number of merchants to unite and raise a common fund of some millions, in order to enable them to purchase, or build ships; to man, victual and fit them out; to levy troops, and pay them; to purchase goods and fruits for the trade; to settle colonies by carrying over families; to fortify and supply them with ammunition and stores; and for other large disbursements, which cannot be provided for without the vast funds of such companies, as it happened to the above Dutch company and others: but in Spain there is no occasion for this kind of expence, or fund, that gives rise to such companies, at least for the trade of this kingdom with the West Indies. For our monarch employs his maritime force to convoy and protect the trade of his subjects in Flotas and Galeons; and as he thus exercises his marine, even in peace, he also by the freights reimburses himself of the charge of the said marine, while his treasury is enriched by the duties upon exports and imports at their going out and return, the gains made by his vassals, and the sale often repeated in Spain and the Indies, both of commodities and fruits, that mostly yield an advantage to the royal revenue.

Besides this support, they possess the great advantage of his majesty's having not only colonies, but very extensive kingdoms and provinces in America, under his auspicious and gracious government, with many good ports, fortified and well stored all over those vast regions, where they find a reception, security and all other encouragements they can desire without any expence; so that the capital motives for an establishment of companies are also wanting in Spain for the navigation and commerce of the West Indies; and it appears only advisable to allow an association of merchants, disposed to settle a navigation, and a limited traffick in the East Indies, along the coasts of Africa and Asia, by means of the Philippine Islands, as some of his majesty's subjects have projected a plan, at their own charge, and without risk to his majesty's armaments or treasury in a navigation so distant, and an undertaking so uncertain, as this may very well be; however, as all the profits are to the proprietors of this company, by industry and application they may perhaps surmount the difficulties, that are visible, and have been already pointed out. But when ever we determine upon such a scheme, proper restraints ought to be prescribed, that the commerce in those parts be conducted in such a manner, that treaties of peace may not interfere with it, nor it be injurious to the manufactures of Spain, or its American trade. Under such precautions his majesty may always assist, and also furnish them with some artillery and ammunition, and other encouragements here, and in the Philippine Islands.

It is also to be observed, that most of the great commerce of the French is at the sole charge and
risk

risk of private persons, and many considerable branches of the Dutch trade are also conducted in the same shape, and not by companies, especially with Spain, France, Germany, England and other parts of Europe. It is the same with their large commerce to the Levant, which has been observed to take in most of their Mediterranean trade, from the streights of Gibraltar, to the right and left, all along the coasts of Africa and Europe, to those of Asia in Palestine, Syria and Natolia, where they even trade very largely. For though most of their ships make these remote voyages, under convoy of ships of war to certain distances, and subject to the rules and direction of a chamber established in Holland for this purpose, and already taken notice of, it is well known, that every native or inhabitant of Holland possesses the privilege of embarking in this commerce at any time, of doing it at his own risk, and withdrawing whenever it shall be convenient, or agreeable to him. In this respect it is upon the very footing of our India Flotas and Galeons, which sail always under the orders and instructions given to the commandant general, and every person trades upon his own bottom and risk, without being subject to any company; unless a few merchants associate by choice for a single voyage, and a determinate quantity of merchandise and fruits; and which they sometimes do for one or more register ships, that sail independant of the Flotas and Galeons, especially those, that usually trade to Buenos Ayres, having first obtained a patent from his majesty.

C H A P. XLII.

*Though Spain has been somewhat slow in coming in-
to the new regulations of duties, and other pro-
visions in favour of trade, we may expect to im-
prove it from the great encouragement of his
majesty, and other reasons given.*

HAVING already produced instances from France, England, Holland, &c. of their provisions in favour of trade, I should have been glad to say as much of Spain, in the same article; but to my great mortification, the materials are scarce. For though in the reigns of our great monarchs, we meet with many wise regulations in favour of navigation and commerce, they are not of sufficient extent, or such provisions, as are suitable, and the new policies of other nations practise in that most essential point of well adjusting the taxes, both in the custom-house, and for the sale and consumption of commodities, and fruits; I call it the new policy, because the very powers, that now prosper most in trade, were also formerly very negligent in the article of taxes; but at that time a thing less injurious. For all states were upon a footing, and such an event had never happened, as this, that one nation by good economy take advantage of the neglects of another, and reduce it to the lamentable circumstances we now find ourselves in. But as soon as foreign powers began to open their eyes in the 17th century, especially France, England and Holland, and made new regulations in the duties, and other provisions, better adapted to the improvement and advance of their own manu-
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factories and trade; and Spain still persisted in her old course with small variation, and which is in general opposite to a profitable commerce, considering the present constitution of things, and the policy of other powers, their wise and modern provisions prevailed to our great detriment; nor is there any other means to prevent our ruin, but by imitating them, at least in the main, and adopting the same measures in the shape I shall propose afterwards; or such other, as men of deeper penetration shall judge best for our constitution.

We must allow the ministries of France, England and Holland, the merit of being before those of Spain, both in discovering the secrets, and safe policies of this interesting transaction, and in proposing, and carrying them into execution with all the success above-mentioned. France, as has been already observed, though a kingdom very large, plentiful and finely situated for trade both by sea and land, did not gain this advantage, till the reign of that very great prince, Lewis XIV. and the ministry of John Baptist Colbert; and if this new maxim of state policy appeared later in our horizon, and hitherto we have made slow advances toward the enjoyment of it, this must be attributed rather to the circumstances of the times, and our misfortunes, than any thing else; since neither his majesty's ministry, nor subjects, had less loyalty to their sovereign, zeal for the publick interest, or talents for any science, faculty or art whatsoever, they at any time engaged in, as our ancient and modern histories clearly prove, and the rivals of the nation even confess; all which encourage us to hope, that we shall make amends for our lost time, by putting in force every thing, that

that has a tendency to establish and improve our trade, taking advantage of the present tranquillity, and other happy influences of peace; and we may also flatter ourselves with it from the extraordinary vigilance and protection his majesty has always shewn in this important affair, as the several provisions he has been pleased to make in favour of it, plainly declare, and which I shall afterwards produce, that the particulars may serve to inform, and be our guide in this great concern; and at the same time manifest the paternal affection of his majesty, and the effectual support he has always given in an affair which tends to the universal advantage of his subjects, particularly, since that bloody and calamitous war in the heart of these kingdoms. Nor is it a new thing with the great monarchs of Spain and France, his majesty's glorious ancestors; for in chapter 27, I have already selected a few out of the many things done in France in favour of trade, by the four great heroes, Charles the great, Francis I. Henry IV. and Lewis XIV. and in the following chapters I shall produce those of our own august kings, both to inform, and animate us to an imitation of them. The first chapter comprehends the ancient, and the succeeding ones offer a few out of the many provisions and other regulations of his present majesty.

C H A P. XLIII.

Laws of king Ferdinand the pious; of their catholic majesties, Ferdinand and Isabel; of the emperor, Charles V. of Philip II. and Philip IV. for the encouragement and protection of trade and navigation.

THE ancient historians*, more inclined to speak of battles, sieges, revolutions, and other strange events, that make a noise in the world, (the principal food of curiosity) than to transmit the publick measures in favour of commerce, and other policies of government, take little notice of the provisions, that were no doubt employed for the encouragement of this important affair by our ancient great monarchs, who most distinguished themselves by their wisdom, and conduct in the arts of peace and war. King Ferdinand the pious was of this class, and in his whole reign there is mention, but of one circumstance on this head, that after he had attacked, and by his courage and resolution rescued the city and castle of Sevil, from the wretched yoke of the Mahometans, in the year 1248. he settled there many prime artificers, who are indeed the basis of a profitable commerce, which is alone attainable by good manufactories. But sure, a prince so great and vigilant in promoting the general interest of his subjects, who knew how to lay so good a foundation for the great work, must needs support it by such wise rules, and measures, as most advance, improve and perfect it; though

* Of Ferdinand the pious in 1248.

historians

historians have not delivered them down to posterity.

If from those times we pass on to their catholic majesties Ferdinand * and Isabel, we find in the body of laws, that by a statute of March 20. 1478. law 7. tit. 10. lib. 7. they decreed annual premiums to all such as should build, and employ ships, from 600 to 1000 tons.

By another of July 21. 1494. made at Medina del campo, and collected under tit. 13. lib. 3. they granted power and jurisdiction to the president and consuls of the merchants at Burgos, to take cognisance of the disputes and differences between merchant and merchant, and their partners and agents, in all matters of merchandise, truck, sale, purchase, barter, insurances and accompts and partnerships, that had been or should be, freights, and commissions given to their factors both at home and abroad, in order to decide the disputes and suits depending between them, and all other, that should happen, that they might determine them in a short and summary way, agreeable to the stile of merchants, without creating any delays, or observing term-time, after examination into the merits of the cause, and with that strict regard to honour that ought to be among merchants. By the same statute they made several other regulations, that plainly shew the great protection and encouragement they gave to all traders, especially those of Burgos, Segovia, Victoria, Logrono, Valladolid and Medina de Rioseca. They decreed also, that no ships be freighted, save those that belong to subjects and natives of these king-

* Of their catholic majesties, Ferdinand and Isabel, in the year 1478.

doms; and that they should not even take up foreign vessels, when there were none belonging to natives. At the same time mention is made of the several consuls and factors, which the Spanish merchants had in the county of Flanders, the kingdoms of France and England, and other states, in particular at Rochel, Nantes, London and Florence. Hence we may infer, that our commerce in these and other kingdoms was at that time conducted by the hand of Spaniards themselves, who had all the profit of freights, commissions, factorage, and other advantages of an active commerce; which are secured by this means; but foreigners now enjoy them by coming themselves to purchase, ship and afterwards vend in their own country our materials and fruits, reducing us to the unhappiness of a passive trade.

By another statute of the same year 1494. and several others, their majesties Ferdinand and Isabel made several regulations to adjust the quality, weight, measure, sale and other circumstances of silks, brocades, and cloths; the particulars of which are found under tit. 12. lib. 5. of the body of laws.

By a statute of September 3. 1500. made at Granada, l. 3. tit. 10. lib. 7. they ordered, that no merchandise or any other thing be shipped on board foreign vessels, when there were ships of natives; and that all disputes about freights, and the rates of them, should be determined by the ordinary justices.

By another of the year 1501. l. 6. tit. 10. lib. 7. they ordered, that no native of these kingdoms,

* In these times the Spaniards had an active commerce carried on by factors in foreign parts.

sell any ship or vessel to foreigners, though they should have a patent of naturalisation.

By another of June 1st 1511. tit. 13. lib. 7* the said king Ferdinand, and queen Juana his daughter, published 119 laws, respecting the fabrick, dying and sale of cloths and stuffs, every one of which tended to make improvements in each of the several manufactures. These contain the preparation of materials, the fabrick, and dying of these commodities.

Charles V. king of Spain and emperor †, in a statute of 1528. and others of March 22, 1529. February 26. 1549. and April 5. 1552. under the titles, 14, 15, 16, and 17. lib. 7. of the body of laws, having in his eye the above 119 primitive statutes of their majesties Ferdinand and Juana, which regulated the fabrick, dying and sale of cloths, added to them a hundred and one, to extend the rules of his glorious predecessor, and clear up some doubts and difficulties, that had arisen in practice.

The same emperor, Charles V. by a statute of 1525. law 21. tit. 4. lib. 6. permitted his subjects to arm against the Moors, pirates and corsairs; and for encouragement gave them a fifth of the prizes, they should make, which formerly belonged to the royal revenue,

In the statute of August 14. 1551. by the same emperor, and his queen Juana, law 46. tit. 18. lib. 6. are the following clauses.

“ We ordain, that always, and at any time, that any merchants or persons, whether natives

* Of their majesties Ferdinand and Juana, in the year 1511.

† Of the emperor Charles V. in the years 1528, 1529, 1549, and 1552.

“ of these kingdoms or foreigners, shall have
 “ bought, or shall buy any wool in our king-
 “ doms to export it abroad, and any subject of
 “ our kingdoms shall desire a moiety of the said
 “ wool, our justices shall cause it to be given them,
 “ in the manner, at the price, and under the con-
 “ ditions, the said merchants shall have bought,
 “ or shall buy it, the said justices having first re-
 “ ceived undoubted securities, &c. that the said
 “ wool shall be manufactured in these kingdoms,
 “ &c.

Law 51. tit. 18. l. 6. published by his royal
 highness prince Philip, regent, in the name of the
 emperor his father, is as follows *.

“ In as much, as we have been informed, that
 “ by the exportation of great quantities of iron
 “ and steel out of the kingdom, these metals be-
 “ gin to be scarce, we order, that no person pre-
 “ sume to export the said oar out of these king-
 “ doms; till it be otherwise provided and ordered
 “ by ourself.

The same prince Philip, regent, in the name
 of his father, by a statute, in the year 1552, law 4.
 tit. 18. lib. 6. decreed as follows.

“ We ordain, that whatever person shall give
 “ to another bullion, gold or silver, in order to
 “ convey or export it out of the kingdom, and
 “ the said exporter shall make discovery of it to
 “ the justices, that the owner forfeit all such gold
 “ or silver, and that he, who was to export and
 “ made discovery of it, have and possess it, and be
 “ free from any penalty, or censure, that he shall
 “ have incurred by having charged himself with
 “ sending it abroad; moreover we will and ordain,

* Of the prince Don Philip, in the name of Charles V.

“ that

“ that whatever person shall inform, that another
 “ has exported money, and shall prove it, the said
 “ informer shall have a third part of the fine,
 “ which shall be laid upon such offender.

The same Philip II. after he came to the crown, persevered in making prudent provisions for the publick good, the principal of which, relating to the point in hand, are found in a statute of 1593, law 59. tit. 18. b. 6. as follows *.

“ We prohibit, and order that there come not
 “ into these kingdoms from abroad glafs, babies,
 “ knives, or any such toys, or wares of brass, or
 “ French plate, pendants, beads, filligran-work,
 “ rosaries, false stones, stained glafs, chains, bead-
 “ rolls, &c. made of any of these, or of paste,
 “ brown, or azure, called sea green; and we also
 “ order that no foreign pedlars, sell these toys in
 “ shops, or in the streets, or travel over these
 “ kingdoms on pretence of selling pins, combs and
 “ rosaries, under pain of forfeiting what they shall
 “ have brought over, and sold in these kingdoms,
 “ together with the value of them; and both are
 “ to be divided into three parts, to the use of the
 “ chamber, judge and informer.”

King Philip IV. † by a statute of the year 1624, law 60. tit. 18. b. 6. prohibited the extraction of gold and silver, and an introduction of copper money, both of them under pain of death, and confiscation of effects.

And by law 62 of the same book and title, he ordered as follows.

“ In as much as there comes into these king-
 “ doms from abroad many sorts of goods, made

* Of king Philip II. in the year 1593.

† Of king Philip IV. in 1624.

“ up, such as hangings, beds, chairs, cushions,
 “ quilts, carpets, &c. and also men and women’s
 “ apparel, &c. of cotton and linnen; leather,
 “ brass, pewter, lead, stone, hair, &c. and being
 “ unnecessary furniture and apparel they waste
 “ our substance, discourage labour and such fa-
 “ bricks as might be useful, and do great preju-
 “ dice to the government; for by this means our
 “ mechanicks lose all employment, and disposi-
 “ tion to get a livelihood, and maintain them-
 “ selves; and an infinite number of people are
 “ idle, distressed, and exposed to every evil,
 “ which necessity may drive them to; we ordain
 “ and command, that from and after the day of
 “ the publication of this decree, no person bring
 “ in from abroad any goods made up, of wool,
 “ silk, or mixt, (except tapestries from Flanders)
 “ nor of cotton, linnen, leather, brass, lead, stone,
 “ shell, horn, ivory or hair; but that they be
 “ only imported in the cloth, species, or material
 “ itself, in order to be manufactured in these
 “ kingdoms, under pain of forfeiture of all such
 “ goods, made up abroad, as they shall so bring
 “ in, vend, or buy, and also 30000 maravedis to
 “ him, that shall so import, sell or buy them, to
 “ be divided into three parts, to the use of the
 “ chamber, judge, and informer; and for the
 “ selling, and disposing of all things of this sort,
 “ that shall be already in this kingdom, at the
 “ time of the promulgation of this law, we allow
 “ two years; and after the expiration of the said
 “ term, it shall not be lawful to sell them.

C H A P. XLIV.

Provisions of his present majesty to correct abuses in the trade between the Canary islands, and the Indies; and also in that between the Philippines and New Spain by Acapulco.

HIS majesty †, in consideration of the great prejudice it must be to the trade of Spain with the Indies, so long as foreigners continue to practise, what they now do, between the Canary islands and America, fraudulently introducing silks and other goods in the ballast of ships, which are allowed to the said islands for transporting some of their own commodities and fruits to certain parts of India, and bringing back some things from thence under proper restrictions; of which opportunity foreigners availing themselves convey from the Indies to the said islands, and from thence to their respective countries, vast quantities of bullion, and curious merchandise, that should only come to the ports of Andalusia; his majesty to prevent these disadvantages, has been pleased to restrain this commerce within its due limits, by 31 articles, which the royal ordinance of December 6. 1718 contains, signed by himself, and under signed Don Miguel Fernandez Duran.

The twentieth of June 1718, his majesty was pleased to dispatch the following decree to the councils of Castile, war, the Indies, and the revenue.

“ In consideration of the great injury it is to
“ my royal revenues, and the general good of my

† Philip V. Dec. 6, 1718. The trade between the Canaries, and the Indies,

“ vassals,

“ vassals, to import the silks, and other woven
 “ goods of China and other parts of Asia, both
 “ on account of the large sums drawn out of these
 “ kingdoms for the purchase, and a fraudulent
 “ introduction of them, without our being able to
 “ examine, whether they be fit for sale, which
 “ occasions a decay in the manufactories of my
 “ dominions, as there is no market for our own
 “ goods, either abroad or at home, from the
 “ abundance of the other; a certain consequence
 “ of which is destroying our trade, and empove-
 “ rishing my people; and as it is my desire to
 “ remove these disadvantages, I have resolved,
 “ that for the future no woven goods, silks or
 “ other commodities shall be admitted into my
 “ dominions from China, or any other parts of
 “ Asia; and that after three months, which I
 “ allow for the sale and disposal of those already
 “ introduced into my dominions in Europe and
 “ Africa, reckoning from the first of July next,
 “ be confiscated and burnt all such as shall after
 “ the said term be found in any magazine, ware-
 “ house, shop, &c. and being willing that by all
 “ means practicable this pernicious commerce be
 “ shut out and prevented, I have resolved at the
 “ same time, that from and after the first day of
 “ July 1719, there be an absolute prohibition in
 “ all my dominions of Europe and Africa (as it is
 “ already ordered for those of America) of the
 “ use of silks, and all woven goods whatsoever
 “ brought from China and other parts of Asia.
 “ It shall be examined by the council, and a pro-
 “ clamation, or the necessary orders shall be dis-
 “ patched, for the more effectual carrying it into
 “ execution, imposing fines and other chastise-
 “ ments,

“ ments, which I shall judge proportioned to the
“ offenders, and likely to produce a punctual ob-
“ servation of it. Given under his majesty's hand.
“ Balfain, June 20. 1718.

Notwithstanding the rigour of this royal decree, and the great advantages proposed by it, and it was published in this capital the 20th of September, the same year, imposing upon offenders for the first time the penalty of forfeiting all such silks, and other woven commodities, together with the value of them in money; and for the second offence, all the said silks, and woven goods, and half their substance, and a banishment of ten years from the place of their birth, the fine and amount of the forfeitures being to be divided into three parts, between the judge, the chamber, and the informer; there is however great neglect in the execution, as is visible from the many printed linnens, cottons, and other commodities from Asia, which are brought from Holland, England and France into Spain, pretending that they are manufactured and made in their respective kingdoms and countries, and not in China, or any other province of Asia; and they even introduce some of these goods as from the Levant, as if on this account they did not come from Asia. For in the commerce carried on in the Mediterranean, and distinguished under the name of the Levant trade, is included Natolia, Syria, and other provinces of Asia; and to root out this great abuse entirely, it seems proper to renew the prohibition, enlarge, and explain it further, that it be not allowed in Spain to import, or wear any such commodities, whether they come from Asia, or Africa, or are counterfeited

counterfeited in Europe, in the manner they are prohibited in France and elsewhere.

His present majesty † in consideration of the great damage, which the trade of Spain to America, and the manufactures of these kingdoms in particular, have sustained from the many silks, and goods from China, and other provinces of Asia fraudulently introduced, and consumed in his majesty's Indies, by means of the commerce between Acapulco and the Philippine islands, was pleased to dispatch orders to the Viceroy of New Spain, dated the 8th and 11th of January 1718, and the 27th of February 1719, giving the most precise and convenient instructions, that the cargo of the ship, which annually sails from the Philippine islands to the port of Acapulco, should be confined to linnen, earthen ware, wax, pimento, cinamon and cloves, commodities with which the kingdom of Spain could not furnish the Indies from its own produce; and that the continuation of the trade with those islands in China goods, silk in bundles or woven, be prohibited; and to prevent a future importation of the said commodities, that he should cause to be published a proclamation, setting forth, that they should only be allowed to wear them for six months; and that after the expiration of this term, all such as remained should be burnt; to the execution of which the viceroy sent a remonstrance, representing the inconveniencies and difficulties that would attend it. But his majesty having caused them to be examined in his council of the Indies, with all the deliberation an affair of so great importance deserved, due attention being given to what is past,

† Philip V. in the year 1718 and 1719. The trade between the Philippine islands and America.

and

and the instances made by the board of trade in Andalusia, in respect to the great injuries arising from the vast trade in China silks, and commodities, which have been brought annually in the above Acapulco ship, but most of all in the two last, and which they were allowed to land in violation of the royal decree, his majesty thought proper to apply vigorous measures to prevent the damages arising from it, but resolved at the same time to give all reasonable satisfaction to the natives of those islands, and therefore was pleased, after a consultation with his council of the Indies, on Sept. 23. 1720, to order by a dispatch from Balsam, the 27th of October, the same year, that for the commerce of the Philippine islands with New Spain, and to carry the assignments, there be annually sent two ships of 500 tuns each, and not one only, as had been before, in consideration of the length of the voyage, and the time taken up in victualing, and providing stores both outward and homeward bound.

That the value of the cargo, from the Philippines to Acapulco, was to amount to 300000 dollars, expended only in the commodities, gold, cinamon, ivory, wax, stones, cloves, pimento, cambajas, and printed linnens, chinces, cottons, gawse, camblets, coverlets, and silk raw or twisted, cordage and other goods not of silk, prohibiting them to bring for the future all silks, such as sattins, pitiflores, flowered silks, damasks, pequins, saya-sayas, brocades, plain sattins, grograms, tafetas, gold and silver brocades, or silks embroidered, and patterns for beds, carpets, or women's petticoats, or silk gawse, with gold and silver flowers, or petticoats wrought or embroidered, night-gowns, or cloths made, stockings, girdles, handkerchiefs,

or any other filken manufacture, under pain of forfeiting the whole, and a fine of treble the value, to be divided between the treasury, the judge and informer, and perpetual banishment from the Indies, to all and whatever persons, that shall offend against this order, by themselves, or others, and of whatever quality and condition they may be; and that all the goods, which shall be seized on this account, (after they have been valued in order to levy treble the amount for a fine) be burnt without fail, since no other means can be found more likely to put a stop to a disorder so frequent, prejudicial, and intolerable, as this has been hitherto experienced; with a warning to the officers, whom it shall concern, that if they should oppose, or delay the execution of it on their part, on any pretence or motive whatsoever, they shall be punished with the loss of their places, perpetual banishment from the Indies; and a confiscation of their effects.

For the consumption of all the China woven goods, and silks, that were already in New Spain, an allowance of six months was granted, reckoning from the publication of the said royal dispatch of October 27. 1720. addressed to the viceroy, ordering him to cause it to be proclaimed within a month after he had received it; and after the expiration of the said terms, all the above commodities and goods, that could be found, were to be burnt without fail.

C H A P. XLV.

Regulations and provisions of his present majesty for the Flotas, Galeons, and register ships; a reform of the customs, and other things conducing to the improvement of the commerce between Spain and America.

HIS majesty the 5th of April 1720. was pleased to issue out an ordinance, signed by himself, and undersigned Don Miguel Fernandez Durán, and in the preamble are the following clauses that deserve our notice.

The king: “ With the approach of a general
 “ peace, not less desirable, than necessary to my
 “ dominions, comes the time, when my vassals
 “ may find the effects of my inclination to con-
 “ tribute my utmost towards their relief and satis-
 “ faction; and as the attainment of this end, as
 “ well as the advantage of my treasury, princi-
 “ pally depends upon a regular and due circula-
 “ tion of commerce, the only source of wealth
 “ to kingdoms; the important affair of a speedy
 “ revival of that, which is carried on between
 “ this kingdom and the Indies, is and always will
 “ be the principal object of my care and vigilance,
 “ till I find what I hope for, the traffick between
 “ the subjects of both my dominions happily con-
 “ tinued and improved, and also the fabricks of
 “ silk and wool and other necessary manufactures
 “ re-established in the inland parts of Spain; for
 “ the encouragement of which and the univer-
 “ sal relief of my subjects, I have thought, that
 “ nothing can so much conduce to it, as that the
 “ Galeons from the Terra Firma, and Flotas from

“ New Spain, and register and advice ships for
“ both kingdoms, should more frequently sail,
“ and that no mismanagement in the dispatch of
“ them prevent their going, and returning punct-
“ tually at the stated times; since for want of due
“ attention and vigilance in this affair, and by not
“ keeping publick faith, and the other good re-
“ gulations, that are indispenfible, great, repeat-
“ ed and lamentable have been the damages suf-
“ tained; as it has been found, that by great de-
“ lays in the preparations, or failing orders, the
“ fruits are fpoiled, and destroyed, many of the
“ commodities moth-eaten, and the market of
“ the reft let flip, or much changed for the worfe
“ from the time of the purchafe to their arrival
“ in the Indies, where they cannot be difpofed
“ of at all, or lofe their value, either on this ac-
“ count, or becaufe during fuch delay, the prices
“ have rifen there, and the profpect of vaft gains
“ tempted other nations to introduce the like
“ commodities, fo much to their own advantage,
“ and to the detriment of my fubjects; as it has
“ been alfo a confequence of the fame delays in
“ going out, and returning home, that many of
“ the fhips have fuffered great injury in the ports
“ of India, where they fare worfe than in thofe of
“ Europe, and the increafe of charges has been fo
“ exceffive both to my revenue, and private trad-
“ ers, that the profits of the commerce have not
“ been fufficient to make amends, nor the extra-
“ ordinary indultos, it was often neceffary for me
“ to lay upon them; efpecially when a great part
“ of the marine, and ftores has been injured and
“ destroyed, or fallen into the hands of the ene-
“ my, without being able to make the leaft de-
“ fence,

" fence, or has foundered at sea for want of hands,
 " and by too heavy lading, which dangers they
 " have sometimes suffered from the said delays,
 " and at other times have been obliged to remain
 " in the Indies, without being able to prosecute
 " their voyage, till at a fresh expence, and loss
 " of time, other ships be fitted out from Spain,
 " and a new supply of hands, stores, &c. sent
 " along with them, causing so great charge and
 " loss, not only to my royal revenue, but to the
 " merchants; that many of them have been ru-
 " ined, by losing their capital, and contracting
 " debts, they were unable to pay; and as prevent-
 " ing the like evils falls in with my desire of the
 " greatest welfare to my subjects, I am under a
 " firm resolution to have always in readiness
 " at Cadiz a sufficient number of ships of war,
 " under such sure and just regulations, as to as-
 " certain the dispatch of frequent Flotas and Ga-
 " leons, advice and other register ships, which
 " are to go to the Indies, that the fleets of both
 " kingdoms, and the registers may sail in due
 " time; and should it happen, that private trad-
 " ers may not be in readiness to accept the li-
 " cences, which I shall think proper to grant
 " under such regulations, as tend to their safety
 " in going and coming back, and the preserva-
 " tion of that, as well as this trade; or having
 " obtained them, may not punctually fulfil the
 " orders given for their sailing, or the circum-
 " stances under which they are to sail, upon a
 " failure in either case they shall be provided with
 " my men of war, or frigates, that we may not
 " run any risk of the misfortunes, which result-
 " ed from the said delays to this trade and the in-

"terest of the government; and I establish for an
 "inviolable law, that in the month, and upon
 "the very day, that shall be inserted in the in-
 "strument for the dispatch of the Galeons, and
 "Flotas from the port of Cadiz, and for their re-
 "turn to Spain from the ports of America, they
 "shall be obliged to set sail on their voyage, out-
 "wards or homewards, without fail, if the wea-
 "ther shall permit; and if it does not, the first
 "day they can sail, (this is in case, that no acci-
 "dent of war, or other great emergence of my
 "government, induce me to depart from this
 "rule) and my own ships shall also do the same
 "with what lading they shall at that time have,
 "though it be not all they were to ship, without
 "staying on any account for the private trade,
 "that shall not be ready; for they are to sail with
 "such only as shall be ready, and with the car-
 "go they shall have already received before that
 "day; and such, as shall not do so, shall be ex-
 "cluded from the convoy of my ships, and the
 "licences they shall have obtained; this regula-
 "tion being intended for a punctual observance
 "of the time, which shall be fixed for the sailing
 "of any register ship whatever; since the damage
 "arising from my ships or the private trade not
 "having their full loading, or some of these losing
 "their passage, is very trifling in comparison of
 "the inconveniences, that have been found, and
 "are unavoidable from the above tedious delays
 "in going out and coming home; in consequence
 "of which, for the dispatch of all the ships,
 "that shall henceforth offer themselves for any
 "port of America whatsoever, I have ordered to
 "be drawn up the following instrument, contain-
 ing

“ing the full instructions for every thing that in general must happen in all these expeditions; the duties chargeable both outward and homeward upon all commodities and fruits, that shall be shipped, and transported, and the freights in proportion to their respective voyages, &c. including the rules, that in every case are to be invariably observed as follows, &c.”

This instrument prescribes also the quality of the ships, both men of war, and merchant men, that are to sail to the Indies, and their commissions; what is to be the cargo of the ships of war; the form of clearing out both; the powers of the commandants of the Flotas and Galeons; and the duty and power of the officer, that shall be charged with the dispatch of them in Andalusia.

The choice and nomination of the three deputies or supercargoes of the Flotas and Galeons.

The tariff for the duties to the king, the clearance of the cargo, and the form of the registers.

The persons that shall go on board, and under what circumstances.

In the preceding dispatches for the Flotas to New Spain, and their return to these kingdoms, before the year 1720. such excessive duties were laid upon all fruits of the produce of Spain, and some of its manufactures, that their commerce to the Indies was much clogged, especially in the article of fruits, whose freights were very heavy, from the disproportion of their value to their bulk. So that wines, brandies, oyls, &c. exported to the Indies paid by some ordinances a duty from 30 to 40 per cent. and by others from 25 to 30 per cent. an impost so excessive that one may infer, how trifling, or rather impracticable must be the

exportation, and trade of these and other Spanish goods to the Indies, to the prejudice of the farmers, peasants and other subjects of his majesty. And as his majesty had been informed of these and other grievances, being always desirous of giving the utmost relief to his subjects, and encouragement to trade, was pleased to publish the above ordinance of April the 5th 1720. by which the duties were not only reduced 6 or 8. per cent. upon Spanish fruits, but several other wise provisions were made to favour and encourage a vent for the commodities of these kingdoms in the Flotas and Galeons; and more frequent fleets, and good oeconomy in them, as is visible from the several articles it contains,

The same year on the 20th of April his majesty was pleased to issue out another regulation, signed by his own hand, and undersigned Don Miguel Fernandez Durán, with the following preamble.

The king, " For as much as, in consideration of the importance of re-establishing the
 " commerce between Peru and Spain, by means
 " of the frequent sailing of Galeons for the Terra Firma, I issued out, the 5th of April last,
 " an ordinance or instrument containing the rules
 " for their dispatch, and commerce, annexing a
 " tariff of duties, chargeable on the cargo at its
 " going out and return to Cadiz, and the freights
 " both in my own ships, and the private trade;
 " making at the same time several other provisions,
 " ons, all of them calculated to place upon an equitable footing, and encourage the commerce between Spain and America, in order that, by
 " removing the heavy loads, delays, risks and disadvantages

advantages formerly experienced, and improve-
 ment of their mutual trade may be so far facili-
 tated, as to be more profitable; and yield great-
 er emoluments to my subjects, both there and
 here; and notwithstanding, because an abate-
 ment of the duties, which every cargo of Ga-
 leons, &c. sailing to the Terra Firma, paid
 formerly on their arrival at Carthagena and
 Porto-velo; contributed to this good purpose; I
 resolved, that, as at their sailing from those ports
 for Spain every thing ought to be free of duty,
 that shall be shipped on board them, and come
 registred in Galeons or single ships, as it pro-
 vided in the above ordinance, so also that they
 be free of duty at their arrival and entry into
 any of those ports, viz. all and whatsoever
 commodities, that go from these kingdom,
 under the register, it appearing that they had
 paid the duties of exportation at Cadiz; and
 otherwise every thing shall be confiscated, that
 shall be found not to have done it, and a pro-
 secution commence against such offenders, in
 the manner prescribed by that ordinance: How-
 ever, to prevent as much as possible, every ob-
 stacle or difficulty that may arise from this new
 regulation of the commerce of the Galeons and
 register-ships to the Terra Firma, in respect to
 the duties, which the cargo that shall be brought
 in them to Carthagena or Porto-velo, is to pay
 upon landing in either of the two ports; I
 have thought proper to declare, and I do de-
 clare, that all the merchandise and goods of
 private traders, that shall go in the Galeons, or
 single ships for the Terra Firma, are without
 fail to pay in either of the two cities, Cartha-

" gena or Porto-velo, where they shall be sold;
 " the duty of the Alcavala, ancient and modern;
 " at the rate of 12 pesos escudos for every pack-
 " age of 100 cubick palms, and for detached
 " goods, at 2 per cent. of their value in Spain,
 " the admeasurement and estimation to be made,
 " as it shall be directed in this ordinance; and it
 " is to be understood, that in this tax will be
 " included the 2 per cent. of the wind-ward
 " fleet; and that my will is, that all the rest of
 " the duties formerly charged, the Almojarifaz-
 " go, Agua de Turbaco, and any others whatever,
 " be annulled and not demanded at Carthagena
 " and Porto-velo, but only the said Alcavala at
 " one of the ports; with a proviso, that having
 " paid it in either of the ports, they shall not be
 " obliged to pay it in the other, when the pro-
 " prietor shall carry them thither, unless there
 " have been a second sale; in which case he shall
 " be obliged to pay it, and also as often as the said
 " commodities shall be sold; and notwithstanding
 " this duty of the Alcavala arises from an ac-
 " tual sale, to prevent any fraud, that may be in-
 " tended by any person, who concealing the sale
 " shall be willing to import the goods and com-
 " modities in his own name into the above pro-
 " vinces; I declare at the same time, that though
 " the said goods be not sold in either of the said
 " cities, they are not to go out of them for any
 " other port of America, without first paying the
 " said duty of the Alcavala, as if they had been
 " sold.

" And as to the sum, each commodity is to
 " pay to the said Alcavala, that there may be no
 " dispute at Carthagena or Porto-velo between
 the

“ the officers of my royal revenue, or ministers,
 “ whose province it is to receive it, and the tra-
 “ ders and proprietors of the merchandise, that
 “ shall be brought into those kingdoms, as well
 “ in bales, as loose, I order that the said tax be
 “ according to the admeasurement and valuation
 “ of Spain, and not that of the Indies, the me-
 “ thod and rule following to be observed, &c.

This regulation was very proper for the encourage-
 ment of commerce, both from the reduction
 of some, and the annihilation of other duties, and
 its preventing disputes and law-suits by fixing the
 admeasurement, and other points therein.

June the 23d. 1720, his majesty issued out an
 ordinance, signed by his own hand, and counter-
 signed Don Miguel Fernandez Durán, the pre-
 amble of which is as follows.

The king. “ In as much as in the dispatch or
 “ instrument I ordered to be drawn the 5th of
 “ April last, for the traffick of the galeons, flotas
 “ or single ships in the navigation of the Indies,
 “ I was pleased to provide, in order to take off
 “ the various and extraordinary imposts, that lay
 “ heavy upon the commerce of Spain and Ame-
 “ rica, and had been introduced in the several
 “ ports of those and these kingdoms, that there
 “ be a new tarif made, in which these imposts
 “ shall be moderated and proportioned, and in
 “ consequence of it, a general rule to be observed
 “ and practised for the future, in respect to the
 “ duties payable to the office, and direction of the
 “ Indies by the owners of ships, traders, and pas-
 “ sengers for their licences and dispatches; as also
 “ what owners of ships and traders are to be
 “ charged in the ports of America, for their re-
 “ gisters

“ gifts and dispatches back again; I have re-
 “ solved that in both instances there be exacted
 “ without any alteration or abatement, the duties
 “ that shall be expressed in the following tariff.

This was also a measure of great benefit to trade, as it removed the inconvenience of those excessive duties, and other abuses, that raised to a very high price the goods and fruits to be sold; and a natural and true reason is given for it, that commerce flying from those parts, where she was so much aggrieved, would pass to other countries, in search of a kinder treatment and reception, than it found here.

C H A P. XLVI.

The substance of an ordinance of his present majesty to recover the profitable trade of Cacao between Spain and America.

HIS majesty having taken into consideration the ruin of the Cacao trade between Spain and the Indies, in the flotas, galeons and register ships, owing to excessive duties chargeable at the port of Cadiz, and afterwards the inland duties, which have been the cause, that this considerable branch of commerce has been engrossed by foreigners, who export it to their respective countries, and afterwards bring it back to our ports, nay, sometimes directly from the Indies, and can introduce it here by an advantage in the admittance, and indulgences in the duties, exclusive of frauds; privileges, which the Spaniards have not, as they import it registred from the Indies to Cadiz, under an obligation to consign it there, according to the tenor of the register; his majesty was

was graciously pleased to reduce the said duties, and make other provisions in order to bring back this branch of commerce to the Spaniards, as may be seen in the dispatch, dated Sept. 20. 1720; signed by his own royal hand, which upon account of its length is not inserted here; but the substance of it shall be given, since it contains many useful observations upon the good conduct of trade.

His majesty, besides the motives already given, reflecting upon the vast quantities of this commodity wanted, and consumed in Spain, and its being the readiest, and as it were the only freight of the galleons and register-ships on their return, ordered the marquis de Campo Florido, president of the council of the revenue, to give him an account of the duties chargeable on every pound of cacao, brought to Cadiz from the Indies, in the flotas, galleons and register-ships. The marquis in obedience to the royal mandate represented, that upon cacao imported for the inland consumption as far as Madrid, the duties would amount to 135 maravedis per pound; sixteen of which are generally demanded at the custom house, where it is collected and registred, that is, 10 for the Almojarifazgo of the Indies at entry, and the remaining six maravedis to the Almojarifazgo mayor at its going out of the custom-house for inland consumption; 17 maravedis imposed by the states of the kingdom in the year 1632 upon every pound, that should be entred and consumed, without excepting presents; 8½ maravedis imposed in 1672, on the same terms; 34 maravedis, which in 1693 were ordered to be charged for a time upon every pound of cacao, and chocolate, that should be expended;

59½ maravedis chargeable in the custom-house at Madrid, of which 34 are appropriated to their excises, 8½ were lately imposed for the building of barracks, and the remaining 17 for the Alcala and Cientos, paid at the time of sale. Besides that every pound of cacao pays 75½ maravedis, in the manner abovementioned at its going out of the custom-house at Cadiz. This amount, with the sums above, raised it so high, that when an account was drawn out, of what every pound cost the Spanish merchants in the place where they buy, or barter for it, the duties paid there, freight, and the other charges of entry and sale, and which is increased in the inland parts, where there are Arbitrios, and an Alcala, it not only left the proprietor no profit, but after it had exhausted the whole of what it was sold for, he had money to pay to make up the surplus of the duties. For the amount of the first cost, and the charges exceeded the value of the cacao, a third part; which loss obliged them to abandon this commerce, and resign it to foreigners,

To prevent these and other injurious consequences, his majesty was pleased to resolve, and decree by the above ordinance, that all the cacao imported from America by his majesty's natural subjects be chargeable at entry in Cadiz, and his custom-house, at the rate of 33 maravedis per pound, 10 of them to the Almojarifazgo of the Indies, with a declaration, that as this sum is nearly equivalent to the two dollars charged per quintal by the ordinance of April 5 in the same year 1720, it should be understood, that the above two dollars were comprehended in the 10 maravedis laid upon every pound, and that so much was to be

be appropriated and assigned over to the chamber of the Indies; six maravedis for the Almojarifazgo mayor, and the other 17, which the states granted in 1632, upon which imposts the pensions were charged. But that the imposition of 51 maravedis; the 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in the year 1672; the 34 in 1693; and the remaining 8 $\frac{1}{4}$, which the corn magazine at Madrid received formerly, but were at that time appropriated to the building of barracks, upon which there were no pensions, or any other claims, should be entirely suppressed; it being understood, that after the said 33 maravedis were paid at Cadiz by the proprietors under the distinctions already explained, no other duty should be demanded on account of the crown; and they might freely dispose of it in any part of the kingdom, without being subject to any farther imposition, save the Arbitrio, if any such be, where it shall be sold, and the Alcavala and Cientos, that arise from the sale.

As to manufactured chocolate, that should be imported, it was ordered, to pay the duties settled in the rates of the Almojarifazgo mayor, and of the Indies, and the real imposed in 1632; but the real added in 1693 was taken off.

His majesty at the same time declared, that all the cacao and chocolate already brought into Cadiz by the galeons, flotas and register ships, and which had paid the duties, might be exported for Valencia, Catalonia, Galicia, Viscaya, and the other provinces of this Peninsula, without paying farther duties, either on exportation at Cadiz, or entry in the ports, whither they should carry it; for as it would appear by the permit, they were to take, that the duties had been paid at Cadiz, and they
were

were obliged to return a certificate of its being landed there, this should be sufficient without being subject to any other tax. But this was not to extend to the cacao or chocolate, which either natives or foreigners should export for other countries; in this case they were to pay the duties already charged upon the exportation.

As a farther encouragement to this commerce by the hand of Spaniards, his majesty also resolved, that such natives of these kingdoms, as were inclined to go from Cadiz under a register directly to the Caraccas, Cumana, Maracaybo, and other provinces of the king, which produce this fruit, on the terms his majesty shall judge convenient to grant them licences, should be exempt from paying any duty or gratuity, on account of a permit, or for tonnage, with certain precautions to guard against abuses; and there are other provisions, calculated to revive and improve this commerce in Spain, set forth more at large in the above royal ordinance.

C H A P. XLVII.

Orders and provisions of his present majesty in the year 1720, to encourage the shipping of larger quantities of Spanish goods on board the flotas and galleons.

HIS majesty, always desirous of improving the Spanish manufactories, and the commerce between these kingdoms and the Indies, ordered in May 1720, that a letter be issued out of the secretary's office, wherever it should be held that year for the dispatches of the cargo, of Don Miguel Fernandez Durán to the intendants of the
†
provinces

provinces of Spain (as it was done) agreeable to instructions of the royal ordinance, of which the following is a copy.

“ His majesty, out of his great zeal for the improvement of trade and navigation, whence so many vast advantages arise to his subjects, and especially from that which is carried on, and is capable of being enlarged, between Spain and the Indies, has resolved, and given proper instructions, that there sail this summer from Cadiz, a flota from 5 to 6000 tons for New Spain, and October following, the galeons for the Terra Firma, besides register ships, that shall at the same time sail for the other provinces under a reform of the duties and other circumstances provided for in the schedule annexed; and his majesty reflecting, that neither this nor any other branch of trade will considerably enrich his vassals, and improve his revenue, unless it be carried on, at least in general, with the goods and fruits of these kingdoms; for the consequence of doing it with foreign manufactures is, that bullion to the value of them will naturally seek for the proprietor of the merchandise, and pass to those foreign parts, whence the supply comes, he orders me to tell your lordships, that for these reasons you are, by a proper application to the manufacturers and traders of this kingdom, to encourage and dispose them to send to Cadiz, as large a quantity of fruits, woven goods and other Spanish commodities, as can possibly be procured, and to ship them for the Indies, either by their own factors, or by consignments to those employed in the commerce of the Indies, or to dispose
of

“ of them to the merchants of Andalusia, giving
 “ them at the same time to understand, that the
 “ duties upon silks exported, under the measure
 “ of a cubick palm are so moderate, that they
 “ scarce amount to one per cent. of their value;
 “ that in the duty upon fruits, there has been also
 “ made a very considerable reduction; and that
 “ in shipping them, and every other occurrence,
 “ shall be given all manner of protection and
 “ assistance, by the intendant Don Francisco Va-
 “ ras y Valdas, who is charged with the disposi-
 “ tion of the cargo, and the dispatches of the flota,
 “ galeons and register ships for the Indies, and
 “ particularly directed to give the utmost assist-
 “ ance to all, that shall go from the other pro-
 “ vinces of Spain to Cadiz with merchandise, to
 “ enable them to succeed in this traffick. With
 “ the same intent, his majesty wills, that your
 “ lordships also freely give all the assistance in
 “ your power, and send letters with all such, as
 “ shall carry these goods to Cadiz, to the said
 “ minister, who by knowing whence they come,
 “ and the recommendations they bring, may be
 “ enabled to support and serve them in the man-
 “ ner it has been enjoined him, is convenient,
 “ and your lordships shall advise, in consequence
 “ of this charge, which his majesty lays upon you,
 “ not doubting but your lordships will exert your
 “ utmost vigilance to effect what his majesty de-
 “ sires, and is so much for the interest of the
 “ kingdom, as has been already shewn; and if
 “ for the easier and speedier accomplishment of
 “ this great purpose, of inducing the manufactu-
 “ rer and merchant to export Spanish goods to
 “ America, your lordships should think of any
 prudent

“ prudent measure, that may promote and render it effectual, his majesty wills, that your lordships make a report of it.” God preserve, &c. Madrid, May 23. 1720.

Don Miguel Fernandez Duràn.

A copy of this circular letter was sent to the said Don Francisco Varas, along with the king's order, in the form following.

“ His majesty, in consequence of what he was pleased to publish in the late dispatch, or ordinance for the Galeons and Flotas, in respect to a revival and improvement of silks, cloths and other manufactures in the inland parts of Spain, in order to lay a foundation for this great design, has commanded the ordinance, of which a copy is annexed, to be dispatched to all the intendants of the provinces of Spain; and as it has been already done, his majesty directs your lordship fully and punctually to discharge every thing, that shall concern and is required of you in the above ordinance, by affording such assistance to the manufacturers and traders, who shall from thence remit to that city any goods whatsoever of the fabricks of Spain to be shipped for America, that they may be sensible how desirous his majesty is to promote their interest, giving the preference to our own goods above any other, whether belonging to foreigners or natives, who are not traders or manufacturers in the provinces of this kingdom, and granting them all the indulgences practicable; and that your lordship act in this affair with the necessary prudence and manage-

“ ment, in order that the tenderness and concern, which the manufacturers merit, in the dispatch and embarkation of their goods to the Indies, and the profits they may gain in return, be an encouragement to them, to continue and extend the commerce of their own goods to the Indies, as his majesty desires: and he also orders your lordship to continue an account of the fabricks of Spain, that in consequence of the said ordinance arrive from each province in that city, to be shipped for the Indies; your lordship being also advertised, that whenever the traders of that city, Sevil, San Lucar, and el Puerto, shall please to ship Spanish goods, they are to be preferred before any foreign ones whatsoever. This I communicate to your lordship by his royal order, for your information and observance.” God preserve, &c. Madrid, May 31. 1720.

Don Miguel Fernandez Duràn.
Sennor Don Francisco de Varas.

But to our great disgrace in the conduct of commerce, in spite of the powerful supports of his majesty, the prudent and seasonable provisions, he was constantly offering, certain difficulties and obstructions fell out that very year, which endangered their taking effect. New measures were necessary, to render them successful in the main. Don Francisco Varas y Valdas, intendant of the marine and commerce of the Indies, who had the charge of the dispatch of the very rich Flota, which that year was fitted out for New Spain, as also of the Galeons, informed his majesty by a letter, December 4. the same year, that in the custom-

custom-house lately established at Xeres, they caused all who brought silks and other goods from Toledo, Granada, &c. to Cadiz to be shipped on board those Galeons, to pay very high duties, over and above what was charged at Cadiz; and that several traders from Granada, Toledo, Valencia, and other cities, surprised at this new imposition, detained their merchandise at Bornos, Offuna, Moron, and other parts of that district, waiting to see, whether they should be permitted, as formerly, to pass on to Cadiz, and there pay his majesty's duties; and in case they could not obtain it, would return home with their goods, as some had already done. A particular account of these facts Don Francisco Varas sent his majesty.

As soon as this account was laid before the king, he ordered the marquiss de Campo Florido to take the necessary measures to remedy it, and recommended a speedy application; and in consequence of it, the marquiss wrote the following letter to D. Thomas de Idiaquez, governour of Cadiz, and superintendant of those custom-houses.

“ My Lord,

“ A proclamation having been published, with
 “ the approbation of your excellency, the regent
 “ of Sevil, and subdelegate of Xeres, prohibit-
 “ ing the road of la Boca de la Fox to the traf-
 “ fick, and transport of fruits, cloths, and other
 “ goods from the inland parts to Cadiz, and any
 “ carrier of goods from proceeding, except the
 “ king's, and the regular carrier of the Jarretas,
 “ Xeres and Lebrija, who enters them, and dis-
 “ charges the duties claimed by the book of rates;

“ and as an obligation from the ordinance of the
 “ Galeons now intervenes, and requires the best
 “ means, to enable traders and merchants to
 “ hasten their commodities and fruits to that city,
 “ and to remove every obstruction or cause of de-
 “ lay, I have this day given orders to the subde-
 “ legate of Xeres, that neither in their custom-
 “ house, nor that of the Jarretas, is there an ob-
 “ ligation upon any carrier to enter, or pay duties
 “ for the merchandise, and other goods and fruits,
 “ which they carry to the city of Cadiz, to be
 “ shipped on board the next Galeons; in so much
 “ as there will be charged, and paid in the custom-
 “ house of that city, all that shall be lawfully due
 “ from the book of rates, and the rules of the
 “ Almojarifazgo. I give your excellency this
 “ notice, who no doubt will on your part do every
 “ thing, that conduces to remove any obstructions
 “ the carriers may meet with in the transport of
 “ such goods, that the dispatch of the Galeons
 “ may not be delayed a moment for want of them;
 “ at the same time I am providing proper instruc-
 “ tions for the regent of Sevil, in respect of the
 “ custom-house of Lebrija. But your excellen-
 “ cy is to understand, that this is only a tempo-
 “ rary provision for the reasons given above, and
 “ that I am charged myself with the care of re-
 “ gulating the carriage for the future, for the se-
 “ curity of his majesty’s duties, the prevention of
 “ frauds, and the encouragement his majesty is
 “ pleased to give his subjects, in order to extend
 “ the manufactures of Spain, and the commerce
 “ of the Indies.” God preserve, &c. Madrid
 “ December 11. 1720.

C H A P.

C H A P. XLVIII.

Certain articles in the instructions to the intendants, that are calculated to cherish trade and manufactories.

THIS instruction to the intendants was issued out by his present majesty the 4th of July 1718. signed by his own hand, and underigned Don Miguel Fernandez Durán. And though most of the 143 articles, it consists of, tend to the universal good of the people, and the improvement of the manufactories and commerce of Spain, the following seven capital clauses shall only be offered, for fear of swelling this treatise too much.

A R T I C. XXXIII.

“ Having been informed, that the privileges and
 “ indulgences granted the people under the title
 “ of fairs, in order to facilitate the purchase or
 “ barter of their own goods and fruits, are abused
 “ and turned to the benefit of foreigners, who
 “ unjustly avail themselves of the same immunity,
 “ and introduce their merchandise and fruits, to
 “ the great prejudice of my royal revenue, and
 “ the trade of my subjects, I order you to ex-
 “ amine the original patents, that have been, or
 “ shall hereafter be granted for these fairs, and to
 “ use great vigilance, that the tenor of them may
 “ not be in any wise exceeded, either by my
 “ own subjects or foreigners, and that no injuri-
 “ ous interpretation, or extension of them be per-
 “ mitted.

A R T I C. XLI.

“ Ye shall take great care, that no vagabonds,
 “ dissolute, troublesome or dangerous persons be
 “ allowed in any parts of your province ; and all
 “ such as are able, and of a proper age to bear
 “ arms, ye shall cause to be apprehended, and
 “ taken into custody, and give me an account of
 “ them, that they may be enlisted into those re-
 “ giments it shall be my pleasure, to enroll
 “ them: you shall also provide, that so long as
 “ they shall be detained in prison, waiting for an
 “ opportunity to convey them to the regiments,
 “ or to deliver them up to the officers, which
 “ shall be recruiting with a passport from the cap-
 “ tains general, they be supplied with a ratio of
 “ bread, weighing 24 ounces of Castile, and four
 “ quartos per day ; which money is to be taken
 “ out of the chest of the justiciary, and in de-
 “ fault of that, out of the Arbitrios and Propri-
 “ os of the community ; but from the very day
 “ of their delivery up to the officers, they are to
 “ be maintained by them, as the recruits ; for
 “ which and the keeping up the compliment of
 “ their companies a gratuity is allowed. Very se-
 “ vere laws being made against vagabonds, and
 “ idle fellows, you shall be vigilant in seeing them
 “ executed in every thing that shall not interfere
 “ with this instruction.

A R T I C. XLII.

“ As to the vagabonds and poor, that shall not
 “ be fit to bear arms, or for the culture of lands,
 “ or other sorts of hard labour, you shall see that
 “ houses are provided for them, in cities and vil-
 lages

“ lages, at their charge, where they shall be col-
 “ lected together, and made to work; either in
 “ spinning or preparing wool, silk, and other ma-
 “ terials for the fabricks, and mechanick trades,
 “ each of them employed in that sort of labour that
 “ shall best suit his age, health or genius. So that
 “ by these and other provisions, which you shall
 “ judge proper to make, no person may be idle,
 “ and every one gain a livelihood without begg-
 “ ing, or using other unlawful means; and that
 “ only those that by their age and infirmities shall
 “ be unable to work, shall be maintained by the
 “ alms that shall be collected, and other reliefs,
 “ which the community shall provide: and be-
 “ cause there are many that work only on certain
 “ days of the week, and are idle the rest, though
 “ there be no want of work, ye shall also take
 “ care to correct this misdemeanour, by causing
 “ them to be mortified by confinement, and other
 “ means prudence shall dictate, and their several
 “ cases require, and also forbid their assembling in
 “ taverns, or entertaining themselves with un-
 “ lawful sports, especially on working days.

A R T I C. XLIII.

“ To the same end shall it be your especial
 “ charge to encourage in all towns fit and quali-
 “ fied for them, all fabricks of cloth, stuffs, pa-
 “ per, glass, soap, any sort of woven goods, the
 “ growth of silk, looms, and all other mecha-
 “ nick arts, trades and crafts whatsoever, which
 “ can with most ease be set on foot; for besides
 “ the numbers maintained by the labour of the
 “ manufactories, and employed in the conduct of
 “ them, commerce is by this means promoted,

“ and the provinces enriched, since the export-
 “ ing of any sort of goods whatever manufactur-
 “ ed, will yield, without question, a far greater
 “ advantage, than that of the materials or simple
 “ commodities of our own growth, such as wool,
 “ silk, flax, wood, sofa, barilla, oar, &c. Ye
 “ shall also lay before me the most practicable
 “ and likely means to gain this end of inducing
 “ the common people to labour and industry, on
 “ which depend their own ease and the publick
 “ interest. And should it be necessary to assist
 “ them in any shape, or to grant them sums of
 “ money, not too large, it shall be freely dispen-
 “ sed to them, as the advantage resulting from it
 “ is manifest; and in case private persons shall
 “ not have sufficient means to set them on foot,
 “ by forming an association, or company of some
 “ of the most proper, or when the publick chest
 “ fails; and if the want of masters, owing to
 “ the ruin of so many manufactories, mechanick
 “ trades and crafts, should clog it, you shall con-
 “ sider of methods to draw them from other parts
 “ of the kingdom, or from abroad, into the
 “ places under your jurisdiction; or, according to
 “ the sort of fabricks to be established, you shall
 “ send youth and children to the places where
 “ they are, to learn, and by this means, in time,
 “ accomplish a scheme so important and interest-
 “ ing; and as we are sensible, that one great
 “ cause of the ruin of the Spanish manufactures
 “ is the vast improvement foreigners have made
 “ in theirs, whose cloths, stuffs, &c. are finer,
 “ and more beautiful, made with fewer materials
 “ and at less charge, and yet have sufficient
 “ strength, I shall order a standard for the mea-
 sure,

“ fure, number of threads, form of the combs,
“ preffes, fulling mills, and other rules to be ob-
“ served by the manufacturers of wool, filk, &c.
“ that by having the substance and prime quality,
“ which is proper, they may rise in esteem, and
“ their vent and consumption be facilitated both
“ at home and abroad. To this end I shall cause
“ to be reduced, or taken off, all the duties now
“ charged at their exportation out of my domi-
“ nions, as also the inland duty at the sale of
“ them, &c. You shall also take great care, that
“ the colours for dying cloths and filks be good
“ and lasting; and punish all such as offend in
“ this way: And I order, that in all these and
“ other cases, which may occur, you encourage
“ and favour trade, and consequently the traders,
“ manufacturers, their workmen and other de-
“ pendants, as it is my intention, that they be
“ all supported and assisted by my tribunals, mi-
“ nisters, captains-general, and other command-
“ ers and persons, whom it shall concern, as it
“ has been directed and given them in charge,
“ more especially taking care that they be involv-
“ ed in no vexatious affairs; and if any law-suits
“ of their own, or their families, should happen,
“ that they be dispatched quickly, and in prefe-
“ rence to all others, doing them justice, and
“ shewing all the favour that can be, without in-
“ convenience.

A R T I C. LVII.

“ You shall cause to be observed the prohibi-
“ tions or ordinances, touching the reform of
“ wearing apparel, and the use of all woven
“ goods whatsoever, whether our own or foreign,
“ that shall be prohibited, especially the gold and
silver

“ silver stuffs, &c. and shall represent to the council of Castile, what measures you judge most likely, to restrain the excess and disorders in the said wearing apparel, and facilitate the wear and consumption of goods, that are or shall be manufactured in the country by an establishment of new fabricks. But in the interim, and before any resolutions can well be taken upon your representations, you shall cause the prohibitions already in force, to be put in execution ; and therefore for your own direction you shall apply for copies of them.

A R T I C. LVIII.

“ What is to be the principal object of your attention is cherishing and preserving plenty of fruits, of grain in particular. Some persons mistake the natural means of doing it, relying chiefly upon an undistinguishing zeal to prohibit the exportation of grain, &c. even after repeated years of plenty ; which is so contrary to all good policy, that plenty ill conducted is sometimes no less fatal than a dearth ; for upon seeing scarcity, the farmers are encouraged to cultivate and break up more land ; but in case of plenty, when there is more than can be expended, they are languid and dispirited ; for they must either not sell their fruits at all, or at so very low a rate, that it is impossible for them to repeat and bear the charge of a fresh cultivation ; whence it follows, that many are ruined, their lands unoccupied, and their stocks sold off for other purposes, and there is certainly great want and scarcity in the succeeding years. For though the next crops may be pretty

“ ty good ones, there must be a scarcity arising
 “ from the many lands lying fallow. This great
 “ inconvenience you shall take care to prevent, by
 “ strictly inquiring every year into the quantity
 “ and quality of the harvests, by means of the
 “ tythes, or other ways, and calculating pretty
 “ nearly the consumption of the inhabitants, that
 “ the surplus may be ascertained, in order to allow
 “ and facilitate the exportation, not of all the spare
 “ grain, but half, or such a portion as shall ap-
 “ pear prudent, and leave a proper reserve for the
 “ year following, lest the harvest should not turn
 “ out so well as it promised. And in case there
 “ be not a promising crop the current year, owing
 “ to a dry season, or other accidents, the extrac-
 “ tion shall be less, and in this and all other cases
 “ such, as prudence shall direct; for there is so
 “ great a variation in circumstances, that no sure
 “ rules can possibly be prescribed. Therefore I
 “ only give you a general charge, to be vigilant
 “ and active in cherishing and encouraging plenty,
 “ and in preventing the damage that must arise,
 “ whenever an exportation of your superfluous
 “ grain may be convenient, if it be not permitted
 “ and facilitated. And that you may better succeed
 “ in this important concern, ye shall hold corre-
 “ spondence with the president and members of
 “ the council, who shall be charged with the
 “ care of your province, whom I shall prepare
 “ for it, and to whom you are to give an ac-
 “ count every 15 days, i. e. in the beginning and
 “ middle of every month, of the state of your
 “ principal fruits, the price of them, what is to
 “ be feared or expected, as well in times of plenty
 “ as scarcity; as also, at a proper time, of the real
 “ produce

“ produce of the harvests ; what the people must
 “ consume, or nearly, before the next harvest ;
 “ what quantities of each sort may be exported ;
 “ and all other informations you shall think proper,
 “ for the directing them to make the seasonable
 “ provisions every case requires. You are
 “ moreover to represent all offences you shall be
 “ informed of, in respect to the extraction of
 “ grain, silver, horses, and other prohibitions,
 “ as also in respect to the laws relating to arms,
 “ gypsies, duelling, &c. established and in force ;
 “ and you shall propose the times and quantities
 “ it will be convenient to export out of each province,
 “ according to its situation and plenty ; with
 “ this proviso, that the quantities and prices of
 “ grain be calculated by the measures, and money
 “ of Castile, or by a reduction of the provincial
 “ money and measures to those standards.

A R T I C. LIX.

“ But you are always to consider, that of all
 “ the parts of your duty, the most important and
 “ delicate is preserving the standard, equality and
 “ proportion of the coin, and to take care that it
 “ be not clipped, counterfeited, or suffer any other
 “ damage provided against by the laws ; and
 “ therefore you shall use your utmost diligence to
 “ have them punctually executed in this case, appointing,
 “ amongst other things, persons of skill
 “ and credit to examine all the royal chests, the
 “ publick banks, &c. from time to time, and to
 “ try the weight and quality of the money by essays
 “ and other means ; and every time you shall
 “ detect any abuse or other detriment, that may
 “ proceed from the villainy of my own subjects or
 “ foreigners,

“ foreigners, either from a debasing of the said
 “ moneys, or an injurious disproportion of one
 “ piece to another, or of the coin of one province
 “ to another, according to their intrinsic or ex-
 “ trinsic value, you shall then represent it to me,
 “ and in the most particular manner, by the coun-
 “ cil of Castile, its natural channel, that I may
 “ give such orders as shall be necessary to put a
 “ stop to it. But if a speedy remedy be requisite,
 “ and our resolution cannot be waited for, you
 “ shall then communicate it to the court of audi-
 “ ence or chancery, which it shall concern, and
 “ with their consent measures may be taken in the
 “ mean time.”

C H A P. XLIX.

*Provisions of his present majesty in favour of trade
 and navigation, and contained in the instructions
 to engineers, &c. Considerable improvements
 made in some of our ports, especially at Malaga,
 and a great trade carried on there in fruits.*

HIS majesty was graciously pleased to issue out
 an ordinance of the same date, July the 4th,
 1718, signed by himself, and undersigned, Don
 Miguel Fernandez Durán, the preamble of which
 is as follows ;

The king. “ In as much as it is for my ser-
 “ vice, and the interest of my vassals, that an ex-
 “ act survey be made of the situation of my cities,
 “ towns, &c. their distances, the quality of the
 “ roads, the course of rivers, the condition of the
 “ bridges, &c. as also the state and circumstances
 “ of the fortresses, sea-ports, bays and coasts, both
 “ as this knowledge is necessary for my royal ser-
 “ vice,

“ vice, the convenience of travellers, carriages,
 “ &c. and as I have a great desire to order the re-
 “ pair of the said roads, bridges. &c. and such
 “ new works, as shall be esteemed a benefit to
 “ the publick, by causing new bridges to be built,
 “ and other roads, if necessary to be cut, in order
 “ to shorten them, or avoid bad way, for the con-
 “ venience of passengers and traders, and to ease
 “ the charge of transporting goods, fruits and cat-
 “ tle from one town to another, to their mutual
 “ advantage ; and I Will also for the same and
 “ other good ends, that the sea ports be repaired,
 “ bettered, and preserved, such rivers made navi-
 “ gable, and canals cut, as shall be found useful,
 “ and can be supplied by subterraneous or other
 “ waters, which must be an advantage to trade,
 “ and a great benefit to the people, as it will fa-
 “ cilitate and reduce the charge of transporting
 “ fruits, materials and goods from one province
 “ to another, enable us to erect corn-mills, ful-
 “ ling-mills, &c. and to water such lands as
 “ would otherwise be barren : And I am in hopes
 “ by means of the present peace to execute all or
 “ most of these works, and my other great designs,
 “ at the charge of my own royal revenues, and
 “ by the labour of some of my troops, whom I
 “ shall chearfully employ to the general advan-
 “ tage of my subjects ; and as I have been also
 “ informed, that upon several occasions, there
 “ have been built many useles works in my for-
 “ tresses and sea-ports, and large sums of my re-
 “ venue and the publick money, by this means
 “ squandered away, from their having been exe-
 “ cuted without plan, or the direction of engineers,
 “ who profess that science, or even the privy of
 “ the

“ the officers of my revenue, whose concurrence
 “ in such articles is absolutely necessary, and by the
 “ mere presumption of certain general officers,
 “ &c. who have taken upon them to determine and
 “ execute them, without previously obtaining an
 “ ordinance from ourself; from whence it has
 “ happened, that some works have been raised in
 “ these fortresses, that are very defective, and
 “ others pernicious and contrary to their intent,
 “ weaken the place, and we have been obliged to
 “ destroy them, and incur a new charge to the
 “ detriment of the revenue: And as I am de-
 “ sirous of preventing for the future these and
 “ other inconveniencies, by prescribing to the en-
 “ gineers, and others, whom it shall concern,
 “ plain rules for their conduct in these two impor-
 “ tant concerns, which they are faithfully to put
 “ in execution for my service, I have decreed
 “ them in the form, they are distinctly set forth
 “ in the following instructions,” &c.

It may easily be inferred from the titles, or
 general heads proposed in this preamble, of what
 importance and benefit the several charges must
 needs be, which are given in the 62 articles this
 instruction contains. Most of them are calculated
 for the enlargement of commerce, &c. and espe-
 cially for the improvement, security and preser-
 vation of the sea-ports. With such view these
 instructions direct the engineers to form very par-
 ticular maps of every province in Spain, resem-
 bling those already done for Madrid, and the parts
 adjacent, and extending 26 Spanish leagues (of
 which $17\frac{1}{2}$ make a degree) from north to south,
 and 33 from east to west, which will comprehend
 858 square leagues. They are also directed to
 add

add to these maps distinct narratives of the several circumstances of each country, with their own remarks on the several heads recited in the following articles.

A R T I C. XI.

“ Besides what is contained in the said map;
 “ they shall form separate narratives, setting forth
 “ with great accuracy and fidelity, the nature of
 “ each country, its fruits, cattle, and other things,
 “ which it shall either want or abound with, the
 “ plains, cliffs, mountains, good or bad roads;
 “ what repairs shall be necessary to render these
 “ passable to carriages, and where they are to be
 “ widened or paved; whether the ground be sandy,
 “ or shorter ways can be cut, without great
 “ expence, observing at the same time the number
 “ and distance of the inns, with their respective
 “ accommodations; and whether it may be
 “ necessary to enlarge them, or build others, for
 “ regular stages and the convenience of passengers.
 “ Moreover they shall set forth the condition of the
 “ bridges, whether they want to be repaired or enlarged;
 “ together with a calculation of the charges
 “ each of these repairs, or new works, which
 “ shall be thought convenient, will amount to, according
 “ to the situation and price of materials, as
 “ well as labour, in each place.

A R T I C. XII.

“ In these narratives, notice also shall be taken
 “ of the towns or places, where there are fabricks
 “ of cloths, silks, linnens, and other woven goods,
 “ as also of paper, cristals, glass and soap, silk
 “ and broad, and mechanick trades or crafts on
 “ foot,

“ foot, the respective harvests and manufactures
 “ of each country, and the number of hands em-
 “ ployed in them; by what means these may be
 “ enlarged and improved, new ones set up, and
 “ commerce encouraged in all possible ways, and
 “ my service, as well as the good of my subjects,
 “ promoted in every province. With no less
 “ vigilance shall they examine and report the state
 “ and condition of the fabricks for military stores,
 “ such as gun-powder, cast and wrought iron,
 “ all sorts of metals, hemp, resin, and all other
 “ things used and consumed in war by sea or
 “ land; as also what supplies of stone, brick, lime,
 “ tiles, timber and other materials, are to be found
 “ in the parts adjoining to my fortresses, and
 “ ports, for the building and repair of their forti-
 “ fications, magazines, barracks, moles, &c.

A R T I C. XX.

“ In the sea-ports they shall take particular care
 “ to give the elevation and plan of the port, and
 “ the adjacent coasts, with all their circumstances
 “ of castles, forts, towers, &c. designed for their
 “ protection and security; to note the times of
 “ high and low water, the sand-banks, shoals or
 “ rocks above or under water, in the bay, or on
 “ the neighbouring coasts; and in particular give
 “ an exact draught of its mole, where merchan-
 “ dize and goods are shipped, and where they are
 “ landed.

A R T I C. XXI.

“ They shall also cause soundings to be made,
 “ with the utmost care, for the depth of water at
 “ the entrance of the port, in the bay, and on the
 VOL. I. R. neigh-

"neighbouring coasts, and inform themselves
 "whether the ports be safe, with what winds one
 "may go in, ride safe, or sail out; what sort of
 "vessels are most proper for each of the ports
 "and coasts, setting forth how many and what
 "sort of ships belong to it, what number of na-
 "tive mariners in the port, and the neighbouring
 "villages, and the state of the navigation in gene-
 "ral; as also the quality and quantity of com-
 "modities and fruits of their own, traded with
 "and exported, and such as are imported from
 "abroad; how many of their ships employed in
 "it; or whether the exportation is all made in
 "foreign vessels, and of what country; at the same
 "time getting information how much is paid for
 "freight per ton, per month, or for the voyage;
 "by weight or admeasurement, either in their
 "own or foreign bottoms, with distinction, whe-
 "ther they go out or come in. As to the causing
 "the foundings to be made and repeated, and the
 "balises or sea-marks, erected to point out the
 "banks, shoal water, rocks and other obstruc-
 "tions, that may endanger the vessels either com-
 "ing in or going out of port, the particulars will
 "be found under the articles, that treat of the
 "preservation and government of the ports.

A R T I C L E LIII.

"As the preservation of the ports is of equal or
 "greater moment than even that of the barrier
 "towns, and their strength and good condition
 "not only contribute much to the defence and
 "security of my coasts, and kingdom, but facili-
 "tate the fitting out, and protection of my fleets,
 "and procure those vast advantages which my
 "subjects gain by improving commerce and navi-
 "gation;

“ I order, that the governors of the towns
 “ and ports, the captains general, the intendants,
 “ where there shall be any, the corregidors, and other
 “ justices, and persons whom it may concern in
 “ any of the said ports, whether they be fortified
 “ or not, do employ great vigilance in clearing
 “ and preserving the said ports, the channels, mouths
 “ of rivers, and other adjoining waters, and take
 “ care that the Arbitrios and Proprios of the
 “ cities, towns, &c. which should be applied to
 “ this purpose, and to the maintainance of the
 “ moles, keys, and other works in the said ports,
 “ be done so accordingly, with great fidelity and
 “ no embezzlement; and provided these funds be
 “ insufficient, that it be represented to me by the
 “ persons whose duty it is, that an augmentation
 “ of them is necessary for these repairs and new
 “ works, in order that I may make all convenient
 “ provision for them.

ARTICLE LXI.

“ In the 21st article of these instructions it is
 “ given in charge to the engineers to sound the
 “ depth of water within the port, at its entrance,
 “ in the bay, and upon the coast, and as the great-
 “ est dangers, and most frequent wrecks, on go-
 “ ing out or coming into port, especially where
 “ there are bars, usually proceed from want of
 “ constant sea-marks upon the sand-banks, shoal-
 “ water, rocks, &c. I order that the engineers,
 “ with some officers and pilots belonging to the
 “ port, do sound for, and exactly set down all these
 “ obstructions, both in the entrance, in the bay,
 “ and on the coasts adjacent, having all the assist-
 “ tance given them that shall be necessary for this
 “ purpose,

" purpose, and afterwards set up, or fix constant
 " sea-marks upon them, which usually consist of
 " large tons, or pieces of timber fastened to an
 " iron chain, which is sunk to the bottom by large
 " stones; and these floating every tide, mark but
 " the places where there is danger from shoal-
 " water, &c. and point out the channel or safe
 " passage, which is inclosed within these buoys,
 " placed at proper distances to the right and left
 " of it, as it is usual in several ports, mouths of
 " rivers, and bars, in Europe and other parts of
 " the world; and in some places, especially
 " where the bottom is a rock, that there be built
 " also sea-marks of stone, in the form of little
 " towers, where at night and other times of ne-
 " cessity, lights may be set up, over and above
 " the great lanthorn, that usually shews the port:
 " this shall be done in those places where it shall
 " be convenient, and otherwise they shall be com-
 " posed of large pieces of timber, three, four or five
 " of them joined together for each sea-mark, and
 " fixed in a socket of stone; and that they may be
 " clearly distinguished by day and night, a lan-
 " thorn be placed upon each of them, and be both
 " secured against the violence of the winds, and
 " easily taken down, when we are apprehensive
 " of an enemy. This very measure is directed
 " by the laws in respect of the port of Vera Cruz.
 " In the articles 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59 and 60,
 " it is ordered, that no stones, earth, or other rub-
 " bish, be thrown into the ports, channels, and
 " mouths of rivers, that old or useless ships not be
 " broken up within the ports, and that anchors and
 " all other things that may clog it, be buoyed up,
 " when lost there. The places and manner of taking

in ballast is prescribed, and also where to discharge it, that it may be no prejudice to the ports, channels, or mouths of rivers; and several other prudent measures for the preservation of ports, since many of them for want of this care have been choaked up, and so ill used; that some, which formerly received capital ships full freighted, and at that time with great difficulty admitted even middling ones in ballast. These very interesting regulations prescribed by his majesty were so much the more necessary, as none had ever yet been made in this respect. Though there be ample provision made for judicial laws and rules of government for the kingdom in the body of statutes, compiled in four volumes folio, down to the year 1723 inclusive, there does not appear in any of these, or in the ordinances of the marine, a single article directed for the preservation of the sea-ports, save only that in the laws of the Indies, compiled also in four volumes, there is a slight provision made for the ports of those seas, and also in law 28. tit. 28. lib. 9. made February 24. 1652, it is mentioned, that from an information, that the docks of Puerta de Suazo, and Carracca near Cadiz, were so out of order, that in a little time they would not be able to careen ships there, it is ordered, that the master-carpenter of the fleet of the Indies consult with the master-carpenter of the home fleet, in order to pitch upon proper places, where the ballast and rubbish discharged from the ships might be thrown, and serve for the repair of the strands, without making any farther provision for the preservation and improvement of ports, a thing of so much consequence to trade, and the other good purposes already mentioned. His majesty, sensible

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of this, vouchsafed, not only to issue out the said ordinance, of the year 1718, but also made several provisions, in order to cleanse, deepen, and fortify some of the said ports; and it has already been done in some places, and is doing in others, especially at Malaga, where ever since the year 1717. they have laboured with so much vigour, in consequence of the royal orders and instructions, that the chargeable work of the moles is very far advanced, as also that of the galleries, keys and other parts of the port, so that ships already go in and out full freighted, which before the year 1717. could not in halast, upon account of the sand, stones and other obstructions, which have been lately cleared at no very extraordinary expence; and great benefit has arisen from it, to that city and the parts adjacent, from the considerable commerce by sea carried on there; for it is well known, that a greater quantity of fruits is sent abroad out of that port than any other in Spain, particularly wines, oyls and raisins which are exported to the northern provinces, England especially, to the great emolument and increase of the people in those parts,

C H A P. L.

Ordinances and provisions of his present majesty for cloathing the officers and soldiers in Spanish manufactures, and the advantage it is to continue it.

HIS majesty, desirous of favouring, and by all possible means cherishing the Spanish manufactures, and consequently the interest of his subjects, resolved, that all his troops, even his own guards, be cloathed in woven and other

commodities manufactured in this kingdom, and issued out an ordinance, October 20, 1719, signed by himself, and undersigned, Don Miguel Fernandez Duran, which contains the following remarkable clauses.

The king, " Out of my great zeal for the relief and interest of my subjects, and as both these depend upon the enlargement and preservation of the fabricks of this kingdom, and our having a market for the other commodities which are the produce of our own country, without having recourse to foreign goods, the importation and consumption of which must needs drain us of our money, and in consequence cause poverty and the dispeopling of my dominions, I have resolved, that the uniform and accoutrements for the officers of all my troops, in Spain, Majorca, and the African garrisons, including the marines, be wholly made of cloths and stuffs manufactured in the provinces of Spain; as also that hats, galoons, stockings, belts, bandaliers, buff coats, and other necessities, as well to compleat the said uniform as for the entire cloathing of the common soldiers, be only of Spanish goods, manufactured in these kingdoms; and that they be so, is to be made appear to the inspectors by a certificate from the vender, signed also by the respective wardens of the companies, the corregidores and justices of the place where they shall have been bought; and for the better observation of this rule, I order, that there be not brought into Spain, by sea or land, any cloths, or other goods made up, such as boots, shoes, belts,

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bandoliers, buff coats and granadiers pouches,
 " even though it be pretended, that they are not
 " for the use of the army. In consequence of
 " this, I order, that any of these commodities
 " which shall be intended to be introduced into
 " Spain, and are not already declared contraband
 " goods, be also contraband from January the 1st
 " 1729. &c. and forfeited, and the offender to
 " be proceeded against in the form as in such
 " case provided, All this shall be punctually ob-
 " served, and put in execution; and if any reg-
 " ment shall offend against this ordinance, the
 " colonel, or other commanding officer, as well
 " as the serjeant major, shall be deprived of his
 " commission; but if the offence shall be owing
 " to any particular captain or officer, either in
 " respect to his own, or the regimentals of his
 " company, I Will, that all such be deprived of
 " their commissions, and the colonel and ser-
 " jeant major severely reprimanded, for not
 " being more vigilant in preventing it; and that
 " the cloaths, &c. that shall be made up for
 " the future, or hereafter found to be foreign
 " manufacture, in violation of this ordinance, be
 " seized by the inspectors or their assistants, and
 " assigned over to the informers, to dispose of
 " them to their own use. As to the cloathing of
 " my body-guards, and the foot guards; I order,
 " that this rule be rigorously observed, that the
 " uniform of the officers, and the accoutrements
 " of the soldiers be of cloth and other goods ma-
 " nufactured in this kingdom, under the penalty,
 " that all who shall offend against it, be depriv-
 " ed of their commissions. To the captains ge-
 " neral, the governors of the fortresses, lieutenant-
 " generals,

"generals, and other commanding officers, and ministers of all ranks; either in the upper provinces, vintial states, the army, and fortified towns, I give in especial charge, that they make use of the cloths and other goods manufactured in Spain for their own wear, and that of their families, under pain of my displeasure." &c.

Though this ordinance be prudent and interesting, as the end it is directed to serve plainly shews, the execution of it in all its branches is thought to be attended with difficulties; for as the officers of the army are dispersed in the fortresses and barrier towns of Spain, Majorca, and the garisons of Africa and Longon, it has been apprehended reasonable to allow some of them to be clothed with what they should find most to their satisfaction; with little or no concern, where the goods have been manufactured; nor can the offence be detected in due time by the inspectors, at least in distant parts, in order to apply the remedy, or impose the penalty of the same ordinance; and in spite of these difficulties in some accidental circumstances, the provision is in the main very prudent; yet another made the same year 1724. is thought to be more so, which orders so much cloth of the new fabrick of Guadalaxara, belonging to the government, to be delivered to every officer in commission; or half-pay, of foot, horse and dragoons, as is sufficient for their uniform, and charged to their account; and the quantity being rated between five and six yards each, they have received already about 30000 in the whole. By this means effectual care is taken to prevent the wear of foreign cloths, and to have a ready vent for those

of Guadalaxara; considerations that recommend this ordinance to be observed for the future, as the most certain and successful measure for the attainment of the said purposes, and from which no prejudice can arise to the troops.

As to the cloth, and other commodities expended in the accoutrements of the body guards, and the regiments of foot guards, such care has been taken, that only Spanish goods have been used for some years past, ever since they have been under the direction of his majesty's ministers.

The same care has been taken in respect to the accoutrements of the rest of the infantry, horse, and dragoons, by their having been for some years past under the direction of his majesty's ministers, and they have been delivered out of the royal magazine, which his majesty in the year 1703 established in this city with such a view, and it is conducted by an overseer and officers, who are to provide and purchase the cloths, &c. and cause them to be made up into regimentals, as directed by the royal instructions, and according to the patterns approved by his majesty. This method is thought to be very well calculated to promote the Spanish manufactures, and for other advantages to the subjects of his majesty; more especially as it detains in these kingdoms, and circulates in the inland provinces above a million of crowns, which are annually expended barely in the soldier's regimentals, the saddles, and other accoutrements of the horse and dragoons; the advantage and happy effects of which shall be explained in the following chapter.

C H A P. LI.

A farther illustration of the advantages to the treasury, the people, and the troops, from the royal magazine, and other provisions of his present majesty for their regimentals, in case it be conducted in the manner set forth. The weakness of the objections some persons make.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great advantages to his majesty, and the publick, from the provisions laid down in the foregoing chapter, in respect to cloathing the troops, and most of all to the improvement of our manufactures, the main spring of the measures for reviving the monarchy, objections are raised against it, and it is alledged, that some of the commodities are not good enough, and by advancing the money to the officers, that they may be bought cheaper in the provinces, where the troops are quartered, and also part of the charge of carriage saved, and in case it were left to the choice of the officers, that they might equally be cloathed with the manufactures of Spain. To these three objections, I shall endeavour to give the true and satisfactory answer, as also to clear up the main point I am labouring at.

The first objection is, that some of the commodities are not good enough. I answer, that as good cloths are made at Madrid of the manufactures of this kingdom as can be desired; or are fit for the troops. This is evident, since the king's body-guard, and the two regiments of foot guards have been supplied by it for some years; and it will be more easy to furnish the marching regiments, as their uniform is usually of a worse kind.

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As to their being duly provided, and sent to the several garisons, this may be done with ease, whenever the revenue is in a condition to furnish the means in season; for as there is great plenty of this sort of cloth, and the other manufactures made in the country, and many towns and private clothiers come to petition, to furnish the soldiers, in a few months there would easily be found sufficient to cloath 200,000 men. And in case some of the said commodities be not good enough, or to the taste of the officers, it is not to be ascribed to the ministers charged with the care of the magazine, and the providing of them, but it is entirely owing to the patterns chosen and prescribed by superior ministers, at the time the said magazine was set on foot. And whenever his majesty shall vouchsafe to deliver out other patterns, for the cloathing of his troops, they will no doubt, both as to fineness and measure, be punctually complied with, as they have been hitherto; especially as this good rule is pursued; to seal up and deposite the patterns in the magazine, for a constant guide, with strict orders, that no commodity be admitted that does not come up to the sample; and for our greater security, there may be an order, to lodge the duplicates of the said patterns, approved by his majesty, and sealed up, with the director-general of the infantry, and the two inspectors-general of the horse and dragoons, that each of them in their several provinces may use such vigilance, that the serjeant-majors, or other officers, charged with the receipt of the cloaths, according to the standard settled, do not admit any below it. By such careful management, we may ensure the goodness of the regimentals.

gimentals, both in quality and measure, and that they are agreeable to the inclination, and rules prescribed by his majesty; and for a plenary provision, let some of the inspectors, that usually reside at court, or others of higher rank, as his majesty shall please, be directed to examine from time to time the cloths and goods brought into the magazine, to see whether they come up to the patterns established by his majesty, and to correct every abuse; and if such be, (which I believe never will) it shall be incumbent upon them to punish the officers that have charge of the magazine. Nor can it be strange, that the inspectors, or others of higher rank should have a share in such examination and superintendency, since it is a point of the utmost importance, and the marquis of Bednar, secretary of war and privy counsellor, with others of distinguished eminence, did do it, and personally visited the magazine. We have also a parallel instance in France, where the secretary of state and of war (both which are united in the same person) is obliged to visit once a week the palace, or royal hospital of invalids without the walls, and does it constantly, in order to see with his own eyes, whether the rules of its foundation be regularly observed, and to reform any neglect, or relaxation of discipline, that may have been introduced.

The second and third objections alledged by such as oppose this measure are, that the cloaths, &c. may be procured by the officers better in quality, and cheaper in the provinces where the troops are quartered; and that they will take care to have them only of the manufacture of these kingdoms. An answer to this is very easy, that when

it has been left to the officers to provide the lesser articles, which in reference to the troops are called *ménages* in the magazine, and comprehend hats, shirts, cravats, stockings, shoes, belts, &c. it has been found, that certain regiments have been furnished with them from abroad, notwithstanding the prohibition, for the sake of the price, and other conveniencies, especially in the barrier towns, or sea-ports frequented by foreign shipping; and there will be always some danger of it, both as they are so near temptation, and the inspectors, who are to prevent such illicit practices, at a great distance.

It appears also, that when money has been put into the hands of the officers to purchase these smaller articles, some have abused the trust, and bought them of a very bad sort. For notwithstanding there be colonels, that in concert with the captains set off their regiments with a better grace, and sometimes make an addition of buff-coats, and other ornaments, at their own cost, or with a saving in the other articles, it is out of doubt, that all general officers have not the same disinterestedness, nor are disposed to make such an application; for some have made an ill use of that confidence, purchased a bad commodity, and stinted in the allowance; a variety that is generally found, where things are conducted by different hands, and in distinct and remote places, and it is well known there is a great number of colonels, serjeant-majors, and other officers, usually employed in it, and residing in several provinces and distant parts, on account of their moveable quarters; but all hazard will be removed, when the cloaths are made and delivered out at Madrid,

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under the eye of the principal ministers, and superior officers, who reside at court. As to the advantage of price, the difference is, I think, very small, if any, in most of the accoutrements, if we except saddles, which in Catalonia are made 7 or 8 per cent. cheaper; besides a saving in the carriage for the horse in those parts. By means of an emulation at Madrid to furnish the materials, and make up the cloaths, shirts, &c. (in which some women are employed and gain a livelihood, who have families to maintain, widows, as well as orphans) the prices have been reduced so low, that it is not likely they should be cheaper in any other part of Spain, at least in any of the principal commodities; and were it certain, that their being made at Madrid would occasion an extraordinary charge of 50 or 60000 crowns, including the carriage, it appears to me, that this difference, which may very well be in so large a sum of money as is laid out on the troops, deserves little consideration, when it comes in competition with our security, that all these goods are the fabrick and manufacture of the kingdom. Under this circumstance the revenue will not only be made whole, but also gain other very considerable augmentations; for according to the position laid down in the 12th chapter, it may be observed, that if a million of crowns, which comes pretty near the annual charge of the soldiers accoutrements, be expended in Spain, in the manner there supposed, it may very well yield yearly above 300000 crowns to the revenue; and there is a moral certainty of it, if we consider, that as the contractors receive from time to time this million of crowns in the course of a year, so they distribute

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most part of it amongst the poor workmen, that have laboured at the several commodities, or in the making of them up; and these having no other inheritance or revenue than the sweat of their brows, for their daily food and necessary cloathing, scarce receive, but they lay it out in victuals and cloaths, or else in wool and other materials for their respective manufactures; and as very high duties are laid upon the sale and consumption of all these articles, notwithstanding they are not charged entire, and abatements are usually made, these must at least produce 8 or 10 per cent. to his majesty's revenue, which in a million of crowns amounts to 80, or 100,000 crowns, and this only from the short passage of this money from the journeymen weavers, &c. to those who sell them flesh, wine, and other victuals, and cloathing, or materials for the manufactures. Moreover, as these victuallers, &c. who are considered as a second or a third hand, live also upon this kind of traffick, they scarce receive money for their goods, but lay it out in like manner to purchase of others what is necessary for their own support; and hence arises a fresh advantage to the royal and municipal revenues; and as it is natural and well known, that this very money is constantly circulating, thus changing hands, frequently repeating the sale, and consumptions, upon which the king's duties depend, it will be no wonder, that the said million of crowns detained, and circulating in these kingdoms, should produce an annual augmentation of 300000 crowns, and even more, to the revenue, since the very profits of the contractors produce the like good effects; and which could not be, if this money was to pass into foreign kingdoms to pay for

for the merchandise, that must be fetched from thence, nor a great number of necessitous people be maintained by the circulation of this money, and which at the same time renders the country more populous. These things plainly shew the weakness of that objection which is grounded upon our paying somewhat dearer for the commodity, if the cloaths be made up at Madrid, besides the expence of carriage; it is taking up with appearances, or insisting upon trifles, while we abandon the fundamentals of government, that yield riches and strength to the monarchy. Such are the motives, that induce us to have the said accoutrements made and delivered out in this city, the center and heart of Spain, in the shape, and under the restrictions already recommended; from whence other towns may more certainly, and equally draw the support, and substance, they stand in need of, in proportion to the commodities and fruits, with which for these and other purposes they supply this capital, without danger of being drained by foreigners of this very substance, the vitals of the monarchy, which must be when they are allowed to buy these commodities in sea-ports, and barrier towns, distant from the metropolis, and bordering upon nations, that find ways to get our commerce into their hands.

This general rule admits only the exception of saddles, &c. and boots, that shall be necessary for the horse and dragoons in Catalonia, as also colours and drums for the foot, for the purchase of which the officers may be entrusted with money; the colours, that they may be made for the regiments, both with his majesty's arms, and those of the respective provinces; and the saddles, boots and drums, as

they are very troublesome in the carriage, and may also be injured by it.

I am very sensible of the great importance it is, that the cloaths and other accoutrements, delivered to the troops, come up to the standard, his majesty has thought proper to make, and that they be given out punctually at the regular seasons; for it is the glory of the sovereign, the basis of good order, and the interest of the people themselves, that the number of troops kept on foot, and adjusted to the treasury, and the publick security, be duly supported with pay, cloathing, arms, quarters and all other necessaries, and that they guard against all embezzlement, the consequence of which is, that we are deserted in times of necessity, and discipline is turned into disorder, confusion, and disappointment; but I know at the same time, that in point of regimentals, it is very essential, and no means are more secure, than to have them out of the royal magazine at Madrid, as well to insure the goodness of them, as a regular supply to the above-mentioned fortresses.

C H A P. LII.

Three decrees of his present majesty, by which he gives up the monopoly of brandies, anniseed and other strong waters, regulates the duties upon them, and some of those upon fish, for the benefit of commerce, and the farmer.

“ I N consideration of the small advantage to my
 “ royal revenue from the produce of the mo-
 “ nopoly of brandy in the inland parts, and the
 “ detriment my towns and subjects receive
 “ from the administration of it, who might other-
 “ wise

" wife make considerable gains, having full power
 " and liberty to dispose of their wines, as they
 " shall think fit; for reducing them to brandy
 " facilitates the exportation, and it is necessary to
 " do it, or lose all benefit of them; I have resolved,
 " that the administration and monopoly of this
 " revenue cease from the first of January, that
 " next cometh in the year 1718, and that the
 " trade be open and free, and subject only to the
 " duties chargeable in the ports and custom-houses
 " for entry inwards and outwards, as well upon
 " brandy, as anniseed and other strong waters,
 " for which purpose such rates shall be adjusted,
 " and laid before me for these duties (if it be not
 " already done) as seem just and regular, that as
 " the administration of it is united with that of
 " the revenues general, it may be received into its
 " amount, whether it be under administration or
 " farmed, saving the extraordinary charge of doing
 " it by separate hands, and the trade of this com-
 " modity be at the same time left open in the in-
 " land parts, free from the evils occasioned, not
 " only by this exclusive privilege and monopoly,
 " but also from the collecting of the compositions,
 " that were made on this account, and the offi-
 " cers, appointed to do it, the receivers of the
 " provincial revenues being charged the amount
 " of it, with what the towns paid on this account
 " in the present farming, either by composition or
 " administration, exclusive of what concerned the
 " exports and imports, and only for the inland
 " consumption; there being also a regulation of
 " the duties, which the said commodities are to
 " pay at entry into Madrid, as the monopoly is
 " taken off, which revenue shall be administered

“ for a year, or so long as shall be thought suffi-
 “ cient to ascertain its value, and estimate it to the
 “ farmer, whom it shall concern. For the same
 “ reasons I have also resolved, that, from the said
 “ first of January of the year coming on, the
 “ general revenue of fish be reduced to the single
 “ duty or duties chargeable to my royal revenue
 “ at entry inwards and outwards, and paid at the
 “ ports and custom-houses, as there is an absolute
 “ annihilation of what was laid upon the inland
 “ consumption; as also of the duty of a maravedi
 “ per pound on all sorts of fish consumed within
 “ 40 leagues of the sea, called the duty of the
 “ castles, which was appropriated to those of
 “ Andalusia, Puntal, and Matagorda, and now
 “ comes into the exchequer; and that upon nei-
 “ ther of these accounts shall any thing be charged
 “ to the people, as it is my intention to relieve
 “ them, as far as the present wants of my govern-
 “ ment shall permit, and free them from the vex-
 “ ations, which they suffered under the composi-
 “ tion, and from the collectors. And in considera-
 “ tion of an assignment of pensions upon the whole
 “ revenue of fish, for which is mortgaged not
 “ only the duty, which is, or shall be charged at
 “ the ports, but also that of the consumption now
 “ taken off, it is visible, that these pensions now,
 “ and for the future are to be rated according to
 “ the price this revenue was farmed at to the end
 “ of this year, both in times of peace and war,
 “ that they may receive the neat value, which
 “ they were to receive in the pay-office general
 “ for pensions, into which its amount is to be
 “ paid, deducting it from the value, the said re-
 “ venue shall be in the ports and custom houses.

“ Moreover,

“ Moreover, as the two revenues of brandy and
 “ fish are included in the farm, let to Don Chris-
 “ toval Fernandez de Arce along with those of
 “ snow, cards and the exports of Sevil, an esti-
 “ mate shall be made of the sum, that from the
 “ first of January next shall be abated him of the
 “ price he gives for the brandies and fish, upon
 “ taking off the inland duty, and in case he shall
 “ not accept a fair and equitable allowance, or
 “ excuse himself upon other pretences, the con-
 “ tract is then to be, and accordingly I order it
 “ to be cancelled, as far as it respects these two
 “ revenues, and full amends to be made him for
 “ any disbursements he may have been at. And
 “ as to any right of the monopolies, that shall be
 “ disposed of, or alienated in respect to brandy,
 “ the proprietors shall be taken care of, and in
 “ case any just claims be made appear, I will take
 “ proper measures for their satisfaction: It shall
 “ be referred to the council of the Finances, and
 “ the hall of the Millones, to conduct and carry
 “ it into execution; and you, the governor, shall
 “ give all necessary orders, so far as it shall be
 “ your concern. Signed by his majesty’s own
 “ hand, in the Pardo. September 11. 1717.

To the marquis de Campo Florido.

“ In a decree of the 11th of September last,
 “ among other regulations, I thought proper to
 “ order, that from the first day of January next,
 “ the administration and monopoly of brandies
 “ should cease in the inland parts, under such re-
 “ gulations as are provided by it; and as in con-
 “ sequence

“ sequence of this it is necessary to prescribe a
 “ certain and fixed rule for the duties at expor-
 “ tation and importation, as also those at entry
 “ into Madrid, I have resolved, that there be
 “ charged equally to the account of my royal re-
 “ venue in every part of the kingdom both for
 “ exports and imports, three reals Vellon for every
 “ arrob of brandy of all sorts, and six reals Vellon
 “ for every arrob of anniseed, cordial, and all
 “ other waters, &c. comprehended in this revenue,
 “ which is to be under administration along with
 “ the revenues general, and that no cities, towns,
 “ &c. where they shall be introduced, have a
 “ right to demand any duties, under the name of
 “ Arbitrios, which should be granted, or they
 “ shall grant, since they cannot extend to them,
 “ upon account of their having been hitherto pro-
 “ hibited; and in respect to the city of Madrid
 “ there shall be charged to the revenue of the
 “ crown, at entry into it, after the rate of six reals
 “ Vellon for every arrob of brandy of all sorts,
 “ and ten reals Vellon for every arrob of anniseed,
 “ cordial, and all other strong waters whatsoever:
 “ And you, the governor, shall give the necessary
 “ orders for the administration of this revenue, for
 “ the which, and the appointment of the officers
 “ to be employed, and their salaries, I give you
 “ the same power, which is granted you for the
 “ administration of the revenues general; but
 “ that no farmer, apothecary, or other person
 “ whatsoever, shall have a right to make any of
 “ these commodities within the city of Madrid
 “ under the same penalty that was imposed du-
 “ ring the monopoly; and you shall labour with
 “ more

" more zeal to have this put in execution, as these
 " duties are annexed to the crown, and no persons
 " are exempted from them, of what state, quality
 " or condition soever they may be; granting, as I
 " do grant, free liberty of vending the said com-
 " modities to all persons whatsoever, who shall
 " have introduced them, and have paid the duties
 " charged upon them, without any demand of
 " Alcavalas, or Cientos at any time, on pretence
 " of their being sold, whether it be by wholesale or
 " retail; as it is convenient, that there should not
 " want a supply of these commodities; and as it is
 " provided also in the above decree, let there be
 " charged to the collectors, who shall be entrusted
 " with the provincial revenues, the amount of what
 " the towns contribute on this score in the present
 " farming, either by composition or administra-
 " tion, exclusive of the imports and exports, and
 " only for the inland consumption; and having
 " an estimate of this amount, contained in the
 " inclosed memorial, signed by Don Joseph Ro-
 " derigo, I remit it to the council of the finances,
 " as a guide for them, to give the necessary or-
 " ders, that the receivers be charged with, and
 " obliged to pay the sum levied upon each pro-
 " vince, over and above what they were to pay
 " for the other revenues; by which means each
 " will be also enabled to enter into a composition
 " with the respective districts of his own pro-
 " vince, considering the benefit which the people
 " will obtain by such a measure from a greater
 " consumption of their wines, without their be-
 " ing granted on this account double instru-
 " ments for the composition, as the commerce,
 " privilege and fabrick of brandy is left free in

" the towns, and no person is in any wise to be
 " prosecuted for it." Signed by his majesty,
 November 7. 1717.

To the marquís of Campo Florido.

Some doubts and difficulties arising in the execution of the two decrees above-mentioned, his majesty vouchsafed to issue out an order or cedula by the council of the finances, which explains and extends the rules for their direction.

The preamble of the said cedula is swelled with a summary of the contents of the above decrees; and to avoid repetition, I shall only give the substance of it, as follows.

The king. " In consideration, &c. and as
 " upon the foundation of this liberty and indul-
 " gence, many of the farmers concerned in distill-
 " ing brandies, cordial and other spirituous liquors
 " have pretended to evade the payment of the
 " duties, due to the Alcavalas, Cientos, and Mil-
 " lones, upon the wines consumed in the said
 " distilleries of brandy, cordial and other spiritu-
 " ous liquors, to the manifest defrauding and in-
 " jury of my royal revenue, and consequently of
 " such, as have farmed the provincial revenues;
 " and at the same time certain collectors have on
 " the contrary pretended to charge the Alcavalas,
 " and Cientos upon the sales of brandy, whence
 " have arisen various disputes, perverting the
 " sense, and meaning of my said royal ordinance:
 " As it is unquestionable, from the grant of the
 " states of the kingdom, the rules and instruc-
 " tions of the Millones, and directions for the
 " administration of all wines, of whatever sort
 " or

“ or quality they be, which shall be consumed
 “ and sold, that by the very act of their sale and
 “ consumption, there arises, and ought to be
 “ paid, the duties of the Alcavala, Cientos and
 “ Millones with their impositions; it is therefore
 “ a plain consequence, that those wines, which
 “ shall be expended or consumed in the fabrick
 “ of brandies, cordial and other spirituous liquors,
 “ are liable to the same imposts, as the rest, that
 “ are consumed in any other shape whatsoever,
 “ unless it be my pleasure to absolve the said
 “ wines from the payment of these duties; and
 “ the indulgence I have already granted, extends
 “ no farther, than that nothing be charged or re-
 “ ceived for brandies, cordial and spirituous li-
 “ quors, that shall be distilled from them; and that
 “ they be freely traded with, and sold in the in-
 “ land parts; out of my royal bounty intending,
 “ that the farmers should enjoy, as they do enjoy,
 “ relief and benefit from a larger consumption of
 “ their wines, with free liberty of managing
 “ them, as they please, to facilitate the exporta-
 “ tion by reducing them to brandies, cordial and
 “ other liquors, which rather leaves untouched,
 “ and in full force and vigour, the duties upon the
 “ consumption and sale of the wines to be distil-
 “ led, charging an equivalent for what the towns
 “ paid to the monopoly of brandy, whether under
 “ administration or composition, (excepting what
 “ arose out of the exports and imports) to the
 “ collectors general of all the provinces, with
 “ power to rate the towns higher, in proportion
 “ to the extraordinary consumption of wines,
 “ since the monopoly is taken off; as it is not rea-
 “ sonable, that my royal revenue should sustain
 “ any

“ any detriment, at a time I am consulting the
 “ relief and advantage of my vassals, by opening
 “ a free trade in this commodity. In respect to
 “ which, and some general provision being con-
 “ venient to cut off all disputes, and remove the
 “ difficulties, which, it has been said, have been
 “ found in some places from a misapprehension
 “ of the said cedula: examined in my council of
 “ the revenue, in the hall of the Millones, I
 “ have thought proper to issue out these pre-
 “ sents, by which I declare, that all, and all
 “ sorts of wines whatever sold, or that shall be sold
 “ by the proprietors of vineyards to be distilled
 “ to brandies, cordials, &c. ought to pay, and
 “ is to pay the duty of the Alcavalas and Cien-
 “ tos; and that all these consumed, or that shall
 “ be consumed in the said distilleries, whether by
 “ proprietors of vineyards or others, are to pay
 “ the Servicios de Millones, and the new imposts;
 “ but when once these become brandies, or any
 “ of the said liquors, they may be traded with
 “ and sold free of all the duties of the Alcavala,
 “ Cientos and Millones, both on the first sale,
 “ and at all future sales; for, as it has been said,
 “ the duties of the Alcavalas, Cientos and Mil-
 “ lones are only to be charged upon the wines,
 “ which shall be sold and consumed in the distil-
 “ lery, and the rule by which the consumption is
 “ or shall be charged, is by the admeasurement and
 “ rules hitherto in use. In so much, &c. San
 Lorenzo. August 31. 1720. I, the king. By or-
 der of his majesty Don Pasqual Feliz de la Sala.

C H A P. LIII.

Great advantages to trade, and the farmers from the provisions, in the foregoing chapter, that took off the monopoly of brandy.

IN the preambles to the two decrees, and the royal cedula, recited in the preceding chapter, mention is made of some reasons, that led his majesty to the important resolutions therein contained, in favour of the farmer, and consequently of trade ; but the motives they are grounded upon, which his majesty, I think, had in view, and which plead strongly for the continuance of so prudent a measure, deserve a farther illustration.

It is notorious, so long as brandies were monopolized, the farmers laboured under great disadvantages, that also affected both the foreign and home trade of these kingdoms ; for it often fell out, that being unable to sell their wines at a proper time, or have recourse to the natural and obvious refuge of converting them to brandies, they were obliged to throw them away, and thus were disappointed of the fruits of their labour and industry, as his majesty was of the large duties, that would have accrued, not only at the time of selling and reducing them to brandies, to the Alcavalas, Cientos and Millones, but also those of the custom-house at exportation, which is much favoured by the less expence of carriage, and greater care to preserve them ; since it is certain, that if, for instance, we want three horses, and are at the charge of 15 dollars, for the carriage of 36 arrobs of wine from la Mancha, or any other distant

tant province to the sea port, or other parts, where there is the best market, one horse will suffice, and five dollars be the expence of carriage, after it is reduced to brandy; as then in brandies one always transports the value of three loads of wine, or more, there is a saving of 10 dollars in the bare carriage and traffick of so small a quantity, which is a profit of above 50 per cent. if we estimate the three loads of wine, as may very well be, at 18 dollars, which is half a dollar per arrob, or at a dollar and half when distilled; and in proportion when it is carried to a farther or less distance. Besides it frequently happens, when it is carried in wine, that it is not sold for enough to answer the charge of carriage, and the duties.

Another advantage to the farmer is, that many wines, though they will bear the expence of carriage to the port, or elsewhere, cannot be carried without danger of turning sour, and perishing, especially if it be southward; and even such as stand and surmount this, and other hazards already mentioned, and come to the port in good condition, it is also notorious, that some of the wines will not bear the sea, and consequently there is no buyer or merchant to ship them; but were there even no risk in sending them abroad, it usually happens, that they cannot find their account in it, from the heavy charge of freight, till they be reduced two thirds in brandies. By these means a heavy clog was not only laid upon the advantageous commerce of selling foreigners the overplus of our fruits, but the proprietors lost the very fruits, they acquired at so great expence, and the king his duties; whilst all these disadvantages are prevented by turning them into brandies, and

and an open trade, as there now is, for this commodity by a royal license, and a generous grant from his majesty. By this privilege the wines are saved at such times, as the proprietor shall think good, and his interest to do it; and in case of exportation, they are sent abroad at a third of the charge, without any risk of perishing either by land or at sea, even when they be shipped for Muscovy and Norway, whither other nations send theirs; moreover from this reduction of two thirds in the freight, we must also believe, there will be a better market and vent for such commodities in every port, by means of this very convenience, in case they be transported to other provinces or parts of Spain, that are more favourable to the exportation, than their own district.

It was also usual for the farmers to have many more wines, than they had a market for, and on the prospect of another plentiful vintage, as they had not jars and casks sufficient to contain both, and there was most danger in keeping the old wines (as in some parts wines are never kept above a year or two) they were forced to that miserable refuge of destroying the old to make room for the new, therefore were they not only disappointed of the fruits of their labour and expence, but as there was no consumption or sale of them, upon which depend the Alcavalas, Cientos and Millones, nor any customs paid for exportation, all these taxes certainly were thus injured by the monopoly of brandies, and the treasury sustained a loss of 20 or 25 per cent. of the value of the fruit; disadvantages, that are also remedied by a license to convert their wines into brandies, and an open trade for them; under which favourable

yourable circumstance, they also want fewer jars and casks, and have more helps to enable them to bear the charge of them.

C H A P. LIV.

An easy way to prevent any evils that can arise from the cheapness of brandy: the profits resulting from this reform may very usefully be applied to the maintenance of hospitals: the great progress of the hospital at Madrid, from the encouragement of his majesty: how advantageous such establishments would be in several parts of the kingdom: a prohibition of anniseed, cordial, and other compound and pernicious waters recommended.

IN spite of the great and visible advantages, which in the preceding chapter are said to result from a license to distil, and an open trade in brandies, both to the finances and the people, especially the farmers, who justly deserve them, and other encouragements; this wise provision is so far from escaping censure, that certain persons believe it more for our interest to restore the monopoly, without considering that few, if any general regulations can be made, however well calculated, but they will be attended with some accidental inconveniences, which are really to be flighted; for a particular interest ought always to give way to a general good; besides, in the present case, the obstacles alledged may be removed without destroying the main work, which yields the great conveniences already proposed.

It is not to be denied, that some inconvenience may attend the said license, not only in respect
to

to brandies; but also anniseed, cordial and other compound strong waters, but those may admit of a remedy without incurring the great disadvantages that would unavoidably proceed from the monopoly, some persons are inclinable to revive.

The prejudice attributed to the above license is, that greater quantities of brandy, anniseed and other strong waters will be distilled, and much more of them drank, upon account of their cheapness, especially by the common people, who will be injured in their health by such excess.

In treating this subject, I shall distinguish it into two branches; first, I shall speak of brandy; and secondly, of anniseed, cordial and other strong and compound waters.

As to the first, that is, brandies; I observe, that if the evils from drinking them to excess proceed from their cheapness, a remedy seems very easy and at hand; we need only make them dearer in a manner, that can be attended with no other great disadvantages. To begin at the capital, where the abuse is apprehended to be greatest; as six reals vellon are now chargeable for their entry upon an arrob of brandy, let there be for the future 22 reals vellon paid for the whole duties to his majesty and the city, so as to make them double to those of wine, which is rated 11 reals per arrob, though it be only half the value of brandy. Nay, were we to charge both of them ad valorem, brandy would then seem to be too much favoured, as it is not so wholesome a liquor; and wine is become, as it were, necessary, by long habit, which is a kind of second nature.

Over and above this additional duty, a certain sum may also be charged monthly upon every retailer

tailer for his license to sell brandy in Madrid; both with a view to reduce the number of retailers, and advance the price of it, which would be so far from being a load upon the publick, that, as it is not a necessary, or wholesome liquor, it will rather be a convenience; for if we sell it at the same, or a higher rate, than at the time it was monopolized, it will be neither so much drank, nor will the health of the people be injured by it; insomuch, that this advanced duty, very far from oppressing the people, is calculated for their service; by reforming the vice.

From this act of oeconomy, which has also the health of the common people in view, would also arise an interest of the amount of both the duties; but when we reflect upon that paternal tenderness of his majesty, which induced him to take off some, and reduce other taxes, we must be convinced, that he will not, in allowing these new impositions, have that lower consideration in view, I mean, an augmentation of his revenue from it, and that it is more natural to his great and generous soul to appropriate the fund arising from it to the hospital in this capital, which, in my apprehension, is one of the charities most acceptable to heaven, and most beneficial to the community; for within its walls many poor people, incapable of getting a livelihood, are not only fed and cloathed, but due instruction in the mysteries of our holy faith, and the precepts of the church is also given, as well to youth, that have led an abandoned life, as to men between 50 and 60 years old, who were also very ignorant of their duty, not from their having forgotten, but their having never known the doctrines of Christ (as I have

have been assured by persons from their own knowledge) till they had left off that unhappy life of begging, and entered this holy receptacle, where a few years ago there were not of both sexes, and of all ages collected together a hundred persons, and now they exceed a thousand, even before all the new apartments are finished, which are already so far augmented, as to admit a great number. Moreover great care is taken, that they lead christian lives, hearing mass every day, and discharging other acts of duty and devotion, and are also set to work; the women to sew and spin, and the men to weaving woollen and linnen cloth, and other employments, in order to contribute to their own maintenance, and preserve them from the irregularities attending idleness.

This considerable increase, and a greater in expectation from the addition lately made to the building, and other provisions, principally owing to the beneficence of his majesty; for besides the powerful and royal protection which this pious foundation has recommended itself to, from its universal benefit, considerable revenues and donations have been bestowed upon it, some temporary, others settled for ever, which insure its success and continuance. One of those settled endowments is a grant from his majesty of two maravedis upon every pound of tobacco, which upon the 3,170,000 pounds of all sorts usually consumed in these kingdoms yearly, raises an annual fund of above 3000 doblons, which is equivalent to a capital of 100000 doblons, at three per cent. so that this pious donation of his majesty

yields it a capital of 600000 crowns, exclusive of other grants*.

What has been observed of the application, that may be made of the amount of these duties, has afforded me an opportunity in this chapter to represent, what I have already done in another, the importance of cherishing and encouraging hospitals, as also the progress of that at Madrid, supported by the piety and powerful protection of his majesty; nor can this short digression appear foreign to the subject of this treatise, which is commerce; since it is one of the fundamental maxims for the enlargement, and preservation of our manufactures (without which, an advantageous commerce cannot subsist) to establish and maintain such hospitals in all the archbishopricks and bishopricks of Spain, by the joint support of his majesty's royal donations; and those of the respective bishops, chapters and towns; in which may be collected together, and employed in early manufactures, all the poor and vagrants, who by the infirmities of age, or other disqualifications, cannot undergo hard labour; and that the rest, whose strength and age fit them for more violent exercises, be forced by such pains and provisions, as the laws of the kingdom prescribe, to seek after occupations and employments better suited to each of them, that they may get a livelihood, and not be suffered to beg, or apply for the charity of convents. For it is certain, there are many thousands such as these, that shun labour, abandon

* By an ordinance of Dec. 21. 1725, his majesty vouchsafed to grant an additional duty of two maravedis on every pound of tobacco, and settle it upon this pious foundation; so that both these grants are equivalent to a capital of 200000 doblons.

them-

themselves to begging, and rely upon the charity of convents and other alms; to the manifest injury of real objects of compassion; and if by such hospitals, and other measures recommended, idleness is not banished, it will be hard to procure a sufficient number of hands for the manufactures, or the cultivation of lands; upon which account I think the foundation and support of good hospitals is a point, that deserves farther notice, as it is very essential to the advancement and preservation of commerce.

To return to the measures designed to remove the only disadvantage, that interferes with the great conveniency of a license to distil, and an open trade in brandies, another thing occurs to me, that in case any detriment be found in other towns or cities, from their cheapness, which I have not been sufficiently informed of, duties may in like manner be imposed, that shall be thought to advance the price sufficiently, under this restriction, that they be only charged upon retailers, and this at the time of sale, as it is practised in the subsidies of the Millones; but that the brandies may be distilled, and transported from one part of Spain to another, to the sea-ports in particular, free of all duties, except those laid by the above royal edicts, and the customs at exportation, that by this means the exportation and vent of this commodity may be facilitated and encouraged, and the great damages resulting from the monopoly prevented.

And as I am persuaded also, that this new duty imposed upon what will be consumed in Spain, will amount to a considerable sum, we must believe that his majesty, out of his great benevolence,

will be disposed to appropriate this revenue to the hospitals of the principal cities of the same province, where the duty shall be raised.

If we pass to the second part, which includes anniseed, cordial and other spiritous and compound waters, my opinion is, that as they are injurious to health, and of little or no importance to the farmer, or to trade, it will be best to prohibit, as well the use, as the distilling, sale and importation of these liquors, and to lay heavy penalties on all offenders, as in the case of contraband goods, in order to preserve the health of the people, which they injure very much, no less by the spices, aromatics, anniseeds and other hot ingredients they are compounded with, than by the people's drinking greater quantities, by means of such incentives, which pure brandy has not. So that the pernicious quality unites with an increase of quantity, to destroy health, and sometimes life, as I have observed, even before the monopoly of brandy was taken off, not only in Spain, where they are most prejudicial from the heat of the climate, but also in several northern kingdoms; which bad effects are seldom found from brandy, since it has not those pernicious mixtures; nor is it drank in such excess. Recollecting also, that besides the cordial and anniseed waters, there are other strong liquors of a very pernicious quality, made in Italy, France, England, &c. it will be proper the prohibition, in case it be ordered, extend to all sorts of liquors, that shall not be pure wine or brandy, and great vigilance be used in putting it into execution, allowing a certain term for the consumption of what has been already compounded, or introduced into the kingdom.

As

AS to the duties upon fish, comprehended also in the decree of September 11. 1717, I refer the consideration to another place.

CHAP. LV.

Orders of his present majesty relating to the situation of the custom-houses, and other provisions in favour of the traffick of our own commodities and fruits, both in the inland parts, and abroad. Advantages arising from it to the treasury and the people.

A Royal order or cedula was dispatched by the chamber of the finances, Decem. 21. 1717, signed by his majesty, and undersigned Don Francisco Diaz Roman; the preamble and principal things contained in it are as follows.

The king, " In as much as in consideration of the inconveniences occasioned by a want of custom-houses established, as they ought to be, in ports and frontier towns of my kingdom of Spain, for collecting the duties imposed upon goods, fruits and merchandise imported and exported; that after these have once paid duty there, they may be transported, and brought to the market they were designed for, in the inland countries, and freely sold, by a pass from that custom-house; from whence would not only result an acknowledged advantage to my subjects; and traders, but the administration of them would be also rendered more easy, and charges, owing to their being under distinct officers and administrators, saved; and out of my desire, in this instance, to make one general provision for preventing these disadvantages, I resolved in a decree of the 13th of

“ of August last, that all the custom houses should
 “ be for the future at the sea-ports and frontier
 “ towns of Spain, both on the side of France and
 “ Portugal, on the very frontier, and in such places
 “ as shall be apprehended most fit for the purpose ;
 “ in so much that those, which are between
 “ Galicia and Castile, shall be removed to the
 “ ports of Galicia, and the entire duties to my
 “ revenue be there charged, including what con-
 “ cerned, and was collected under the names of
 “ Diezmos, in the farm of the Alcavalas and
 “ Cientos, from which they are to be separated,
 “ and from this time wholly incorporated with the
 “ customs under administration ; and provided
 “ there be any creditor, or demand upon the
 “ said Diezmos by alienation, or other claim, he
 “ may have recourse to my exchequer, that, af-
 “ ter full proof of a right and property, satisfac-
 “ tion may be given in such shape, as shall be
 “ thought most convenient ; that the same be
 “ done in respect to the custom-houses between
 “ the Asturias, and Castile, which are to be
 “ removed to the ports of the Asturias ; and
 “ that both in the sea-ports of that principality
 “ and of Galicia be continued the tariff of
 “ the Diezmos and port duties, which is at pre-
 “ sent established for the receipt of the duties,
 “ and the other imposts upon such commodi-
 “ ties, as have any, and which shall be import-
 “ ed by sea ; for as to the custom houses on the
 “ confines of Portugal, they have a tariff settled ;
 “ and that also for the foreign goods, which may
 “ be in the inland parts of Galicia and the Astu-
 “ rias, a register be made of all such, as shall be
 “ there at present, that their owners may be
 “ obliged

51. obliged to take a pass, and pay duties for all
 52. such, as should be brought into Castile, as they
 53. were obliged to do on the frontiers, in the
 54. manner now practised, or at the time of land-
 55. ing them: and as it was considered in the pre-
 56. ceding regulations, that some invincible diffi-
 57. culties might occur, I ordered the marquiss of
 58. Campo Florido immediately to put them in
 59. execution, and to give such orders, as should
 60. be necessary, or thought convenient together
 61. with rules for the appointment, and conduct
 62. of the administration, officers, &c. and such
 63. salaries as he should judge proper; and both this
 64. affair, and what respects the places where the
 65. Rediezmos should be established, I leave and
 66. trust to his prudence and good conduct; and
 67. as in the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia, and
 68. the principality of Catalonia, custom-houses are
 69. established on the frontiers, and in the ports,
 70. and a trade open with both the Castiles, it re-
 71. mains only for the marquiss, in case they be
 72. not thoroughly regulated, to make proper pro-
 73. visions for the attainment of these ends, to fulfil
 74. my intention of having custom-houses on the
 75. confines, and a commerce be free and open to
 76. all the inland parts of the kingdom for all goods
 77. and fruits, after they have been imported, and
 78. have paid the duties there, &c."

By the same royal edict, it is also ordered, that
 the custom-houses of Victoria, Ordulna, Balma-
 feda, &c. in the province of Cantabria should be
 removed, and were accordingly moved to Bilbao,
 or Portugalete, Passages, San Sebastian, and Fu-
 ente-Rabia; and in respect to Navarre, that the
 custom-houses of Logrono, Agreda, &c. be abo-

lished, and established on the frontiers of France; as also the Rediezmos, where they should be necessary, which has been also done. But his majesty by later decrees has thought proper to order the custom-houses of Navarre and Cantabria to be brought back to their old situation; and the new ones lately erected in Pamplona, Fuentes-Rabia, and other places on the frontier and coast of Catabria, were in consequence of it abolished.

By ordinances prior to that of Decem. 21. 1717, his majesty was pleased to order the custom houses between Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia, and the kingdoms of Castile to be abolished, and others set up in the sea-ports and on the frontiers; and it has been since done, and continued by virtue of this very edict, in Galicia, the Asturias, and elsewhere, in order to open an easy passage and trade for all sorts of goods and fruits, into the inland provinces of Spain (except Navarre and Cantabria) which facilitates not only an advantageous exportation of superfluities to foreign kingdoms, but also enables the provinces more easily to relieve each other, either by selling the goods and fruits some of them abound with, to supply the scarcity and wants of others, or by bartering with each other to their mutual convenience. For by this means they are not only provided with necessaries, by the easy and natural channel of purchasing them with their own superfluities, but the said goods and fruits find also a readier and freer passage to foreign parts, whence ensues great encouragement both to our manufactories, and the culture of lands, while the importation and consumption of foreign merchandise and provision is at the same time much lessened. For it is certain, that so
long

long as goods, flocks and fruits could not freely pass from the inland parts, as they now do, to provinces on the sea coast, or the frontiers, the latter would be supplied by foreigners, who carry away an equivalent in money, especially out of Catalonia, where they have no sheep, nor grain sufficient for their own consumption, and whose wants are now repaired in a great measure by Aragon and Castile; which provinces have also in return, part of the money that used to be extracted into France, Barbary, and elsewhere; or they take in exchange lace, and other goods, which are now transmitted in larger quantities into the heart of the kingdom. By this means we shall import less from foreign countries, and the money, which is quite sunk by going out of the kingdom, will be detained, and circulate in the dominions of his majesty. To these advantages I might add several others; but I refrain, as I judge those already produced sufficient for my purpose; and the revenues general are so far from being reduced by abolishing these inland custom-houses, that they are rather improved, since the establishment of those above-mentioned, and others upon the confines, and the sea-coast. Nor is it a doubt, that opening by this means a free and easy commerce with the inland provinces, there will be also an augmentation of the revenues of the Alcavalas, Cientos, and Millones; for by this mutual convenience of a free transport of commodities and fruits from one province to another, there must necessarily be a greater consumption, and more frequent sales, upon which depend both the royal and municipal duties.

In

IN all appearance this great advantage was to have been extended to all the provinces of the crowns of Castile and Aragon, from the intention of his majesty and the tenor of the decrees; but our unhappy genius in the grand affair of commerce, was pleased to prevent its taking effect in the kingdom of Sevil, where it was of most importance, as it is the main passage for most part of our fruits and goods, that are transported to Cadiz for the Indies. For the cloths, and other goods, brought from Segovia, Toledo, Jacn, Cordova, Granada, &c. pay very high duties at Xeres, Cadiz, and other places, though by the general indulgence dispensed by his majesty, they should have been exempt, till after their entry in Cadiz, or any other port of Spain; and then were only to pay the indulto imposed at the time of their being shipped for the Indies, or those customs chargeable at Cadiz or any other port, for exports to foreign countries; but they now pay not only those of the indulto for the Indies, or as exports to foreign parts, but also such as are not due at entry into Cadiz, and on their passing by Xeres, and other places; impositions so very oppressive, as to clog very much the vent, and traffick of our own commodities, and sometimes render them impracticable. These disadvantages I shall treat more at large in some other chapters, that we may be better prepared to employ the speedy and effectual remedies so heavy a misfortune calls for.

His majesty has also ordered, that none of the governors of his fortresses, or commanding officers of the army, impose any taxes upon fruits or merchandize, which shall be shipped for foreign consumption, as he was informed such abuses
had

had crept into certain ports; a thing injurious to, and a heavy clog upon our own trade, and especially the exportation of our superfluous fruits.

His majesty, upon information how much the traffick between Valencia, and other parts of Spain, as well as foreign countries, was clogged, and how heavily those silk manufactories were loaded, by the repeated municipal taxes, charged upon goods and fruits, even after the king's customs were abolished in the inland parts, was pleased to make the provision contained in the following decree.

“ With a view to the greater convenience and
 “ interest of the inhabitants of the kingdom of
 “ Valencia, and to facilitate commerce in the in-
 “ land parts, by removing all obstructions to it,
 “ and to the establishment of manufactories, I
 “ have resolved, entirely to abolish the revenue,
 “ which in the kingdom of Valencia is known
 “ by the name of the *ancient duties*, and which
 “ consist of five per cent. chargeable on all sorts of
 “ goods, sold by the yard in the shops of that
 “ kingdom; and another five per cent. paid upon
 “ all commodities, fruits and merchandize, sent
 “ abroad either by sea or land, under the title of
 “ merchandize general; and also another five per
 “ cent. upon several fruits of the same kingdom,
 “ on their going abroad either by sea or land; in
 “ hopes that by a removal of such a heavy clog
 “ upon trade, and such relief to my people, com-
 “ merce may flourish to their advantage: And
 “ that the new duties, which consist of the im-
 “ posts upon snow and cards, continue in full
 “ force; as also a duty, that goes under the name
 “ of *the read upon salt*, extending to the city of
 “ Valencia,

“ Valencia, and including another real and half
 “ upon salt, which extends likewise to the city
 “ of Valencia, and is to be collected in the same
 “ manner as the former, and under the same
 “ regulations; which new impost will not fall
 “ heavy upon the natives, upon account of the re-
 “ lief they have obtained by taking off the other
 “ duties: And that the produce of those that
 “ continue in force, together with the augmenta-
 “ tion, and which, it is supposed, will amount to
 “ 33,000 dollars, be appropriated to pay in the
 “ first place 29,786 dollars, the amount of the
 “ pensions charged upon the customs, and the
 “ surplus go towards paying the other demands
 “ upon them; and in consideration that there will
 “ not be sufficient to discharge the whole, I order,
 “ that there be an injunction laid upon the inten-
 “ dant of that kingdom, to consider of, and pro-
 “ pose such other taxes, to make up the diffe-
 “ rence, as may be practicable, without being
 “ heavy upon, or oppressive to the people, and
 “ any ways destructive to the manufactures, or
 “ commerce; the intendant being also charged
 “ with the administration of the duties that still
 “ subsist, and to take off most of the expenses
 “ that were formerly caused by it, as also some
 “ of those that are made in the guard of the
 “ towers, for which purposes this provision has
 “ been made. It shall be examined in the coun-
 “ cil of the finances; and you, the governor, as
 “ superintendant of the revenues general, shall
 “ issue out the necessary orders for the execution
 “ of it, as far as it shall concern you.” Signed by
 his majesty’s own hand at San Lorenzo, Oct. 26,
 1718. To the marquise of Campo Real, Viceroy of

C H A P. LVI.

An ordinance of his present majesty, issued out April 5, 1721, upon account of certain ecclesiasticks, that had attempted to export their fruits without paying the duties; a thing prohibited, in order to prevent the confusion and other disadvantages, which such an indulgence would occasion, especially in commerce.

THE king, " Governor, and members of
 " my council of the finances; and upper
 " chamber of accompts. You already know the
 " frequent disputes between the ecclesiastical
 " judges and my officers, on account of wine
 " and other fruits of the growth of ecclesiasticks,
 " shipped and exported out of my dominions, as
 " the latter pretend to be exempt from the pay-
 " ment of the Almojarifazgos, port-duties, Diez-
 " mos, and others united with them, and charge-
 " able in my royal custom-houses; and that the
 " intendant of my islands of the Canaries having
 " represented to me, that an ecclesiastick had at-
 " tempted to ship, from the port of Oratava for
 " the north, wines of his own growth without
 " paying the custom-house duties, and upon the
 " collectors charging them, the judge of the ec-
 " clesiastical court was pleased to proceed against
 " him, on the foundation of the immunity of
 " like fruits, and the licence to transport them
 " from one place to another, supposing it a point
 " decided by a case tried at Xeres in the year
 " 1598, at the suit of the collectors, on the con-
 " dition of an affidavit of their being so; for the
 " obtaining of passes; notwithstanding it had been
 " objected,

“ objected, that the circumstances were very dif-
 “ ferent in the present case, as it regarded ship-
 “ ping of wines for foreign kingdoms, which
 “ made it an act of commerce, traffick and tra-
 “ ding for gain, and rendered them liable to the
 “ duties; that the said intendant has referred the
 “ matter to myself, to have my royal directions
 “ how to act. Being examined in my council of
 “ the finances, to whom I referred the affair,
 “ and the attorney-general being heard upon it,
 “ the legality of it was considered; and as it was
 “ proved beyond all question, *a part of my royal*
 “ *prerogative, to prohibit the exportation of fruits*
 “ *out of my kingdoms to other dominions, or to per-*
 “ *mit certain of them, as I should see good, to be*
 “ *exported upon payment of a certain duty; which*
 “ *laws and royal decrees, regarding things, (not*
 “ *persons) tending to the good of the publick, and*
 “ *the better government of these my kingdoms, hind*
 “ *also ecclesiasticks, as members of the body politic,*
 “ *without any violation of their immunity, and*
 “ provided they are desirous of selling for the
 “ sake of gain, to foreign countries, and are not
 “ content to do it free in their own, both those,
 “ that have, or have not the immunity, ought to
 “ pay the duties of the Almojarifazgos, Diezmos,
 “ and port-duties, established by the royal laws,
 “ and chargeable upon every thing imported or
 “ exported in traffick from one kingdom to ano-
 “ ther, and which are appropriated to its preser-
 “ vation, and the protection of the navigation and
 “ shipping; nor is such an exaction opposed by
 “ the holy canons, which contain the prohibition
 “ and decrees against the decisions of colleges,
 “ universities, and private persons, in which are not
 “ to

to be found like notions of the royal prerogative, or the privilege of ports; rights of the community which have been, and are universally observed, excepting in the necessities for their own use and consumption; for some indulgencies have been granted to certain ecclesiastical societies, and others are declared by decrees of courts of justice, which settle it in this manner, if we except Aragon and Catalonia, where they pay for what they export or import for their own use; and this custom or practice immemorial, was approved in the year 1522 by a decretal of his holiness Adrian IV. at the instance of king Charles I. and the kingdom, upon account of some ecclesiasticks refusing to pay; and by a holy council of bishops and regulars, in rescripts directed to the nuncios of Naples, ordaining, that in the affair of exports they should conform to the ordinances of secular magistrates, by reason that custom and statute law (as it is in Milan, Parma, and Sicily) allows it with a license from the viceroys and governors, on the payment of certain duties, having satisfied the Diezmos, and the ports in my dominions, and even the duties upon wool, which ecclesiasticks have, or shall export by other hands, whether they be of their own growth or not, and patrimonial fruits of benefices and churches, with this difference only in respect to Alcavalas, from which the fruits of their patrimonies and benefices are exempted, in case they be not the produce of lands they shall farm and cultivate, and for commerce, traffick, or selling for gain, in which instances they are to pay them; and in this agree, both the ca-

“ non and royal laws, and the above decision of
 “ the court in 1598, at the suit of the collectors
 “ of Xeres, not applicable to the present dispute
 “ about duties, which belong to the crown, and
 “ exports for sale in other kingdoms, the pay-
 “ ment of which is not opposed by canons, and is
 “ found to be supported and due by the approba-
 “ tion and formal assent of popes, without offence
 “ to the immunities of the church. For inde-
 “ pendent of such powerful proofs, even the said
 “ custom; which they have warranted, was suf-
 “ ficient; and upon higher motives, since it was
 “ grounded upon the solid principles of justice;
 “ and the royal prerogative; and the welfare and
 “ good government of these kingdoms are inter-
 “ ested in the continuance of it; insomuch, that
 “ by this means the disorder, confusion, and dis-
 “ advantages, that would arise from the free ex-
 “ portation of the fruits of the ecclesiasticks, are
 “ prevented; for others would do it in their
 “ names, evade the duties, and disappoint the
 “ great purposes they were intended to serve;
 “ and which are equally for the interest of clergy
 “ and laity; and without the concurrence of the
 “ said motives, the payment of these duties ought
 “ to be indispensable from the bare consideration
 “ of the traffick ecclesiasticks run into, by ex-
 “ porting the above fruits themselves, or by their
 “ direction, to sell them to advantage in other
 “ countries, not being content with the profit
 “ they may make in their own, at the customary
 “ and stated prices there, and thus discover an
 “ avarice unbecoming their profession, and con-
 “ trary to the canons, which censure and oppose
 “ it; and this too under the heavy charges of car-
 “ riage,

"riage, freight, factorage, and the palpable ha-
 "zards of losing the whole, as those of the sea
 "are so, that if they guard against them by in-
 "surances, they take another step in commerce,
 "without due caution, since they go not in per-
 "son, as the laity do; by being really merchants
 "and traders in a strict sense, and the general
 "apprehension of people; nor is there more
 "foundation for a distinction between them and
 "ecclesiasticks, than that trade is wholly unsui-
 "table to the latter, and foreign to their holy
 "office; the very reason why the canons of the
 "church deprive them of their immunity, when
 "they embark in trade, and oblige them (as the
 "laws of these my kingdoms do) to the pay-
 "ment of the tariff. Nor is it only upon these
 "foundations, an established opinion and practice
 "in these my kingdoms, which put out of all
 "doubt the affair of ecclesiasticks exporting the
 "patrimonial fruits of benefices, and the glebe of
 "churches, to sell them in other countries, but
 "the decretals of the popes Boniface VIII, and
 "Clement V. plainly suppose it, and restrain their
 "immunity in the case of their own property,
 "which they shall transport by themselves, or in
 "their names in the way of trade; and as the canons
 "have known no other than patrimonial effects,
 "and those of benefices, their decision cannot be
 "a determination in another case, such as this is,
 "when they decline selling their fruits at the re-
 "gular prices in their own country, and run into
 "a blameable avarice for the sake of raising great-
 "er gains at the risk of immense charges and
 "dangers already considered, by exporting them
 "for sale in foreign parts, and put themselves upon

“ a level with the laity, and fail of the modera-
 “ tion, and other virtues becoming their character:
 “ All of them circumstances that constitute a for-
 “ mal traffick, (which is not confined to the single
 “ act of purchase and sale of the same commodi-
 “ ty, since in the general and surest acceptation,
 “ it is applied to that of the fruits of lands, farm-
 “ ed only out of avarice ; and none is greater than
 “ the exportation above-mentioned) the truth of
 “ which this opinion conformable to the canons
 “ and custom has confirmed. And if this should
 “ be sufficient of itself, or the bare insinuation of its
 “ being trade, not to reckon the exaction of the
 “ Diezmos, and port-duties a violation of the im-
 “ munity ; how much more, when it appears to
 “ be a branch of the royal prerogative, and not
 “ prohibited by the canons. All these considera-
 “ tions being laid before me in council, the first
 “ of February last, by a resolution then taken, I
 “ order this royal decree to be issued out ; by
 “ which I order that none of the ecclesiasticks in
 “ general, secular and regular of these my king-
 “ doms, lordships, and islands of the Canaries,
 “ (without respect to those of Aragon, where in-
 “ deed they pay for the necessaries expended by
 “ themselves) be permitted to export for sale into
 “ other countries their patrimonial fruits from
 “ benefices and churches, without paying what
 “ is due to the Almojarifazgos, Diezmos, port-
 “ duties, and all other united with them, and
 “ chargeable in my royal custom-houses. That
 “ this be duly carried into execution, the inten-
 “ dant and officers of my revenues, in case there
 “ be any process carried on by the ecclesiastical
 “ judges to prevent their collecting or recovering
 “ them

“ them, they shall give me information of it in
 “ this my council, in order that an immediate
 “ stop may be put to the proceeding, and they
 “ be sensible that it is my pleasure ; and let the
 “ accomptants general of my finances, and of the
 “ revenues general take a copy of this my decree,
 “ and enter it in their registers.” Given at Buen
 Retiro, April 5, 1721.

I the KING.

By his majesty's order,

Don Francisco Diaz Romàn.

C H A P. LVII.

Provisions of his present majesty for the better regulation, and collecting of the provincial revenues, with a view to these three things, an augmentation of their value, the relief of his subjects, and encouragement of trade.

GOOD management, and prudence in the collection of the revenues, whether they be farmed or under administration, not only insures relief to the subject, and increase to the treasury, but has a very happy influence upon useful commerce both by sea and land ; and therefore it will not be foreign to my purpose, if I mention the most considerable of those provisions, his majesty has made, for the better regulation of the revenues general, which are chargeable in the custom-houses, as also of the provincial and other revenues, that are collected independant of the customs, and begin with what relates to the provincial revenues, and is contained in the following

U 2 ordinance,

ordinance, dispatched to the council of the finances.

“ Having considered with more than ordinary
 “ attention to the welfare of my people, to which
 “ I am disposed by the singular zeal and duty,
 “ all my loyal subjects of the provinces of Castile
 “ and Leon have always shewn for my service,
 “ what relief can be afforded them at this time,
 “ and while the wants of the state are not so ur-
 “ gent, in the collecting of those indispensable
 “ taxes, that constitute my royal and provincial
 “ revenues, and are absolutely necessary for the
 “ defence and support of my government, by re-
 “ ducing the number of collectors, who have hi-
 “ therto distressed the people, through the variety
 “ of hands employed in the administration of se-
 “ perate revenues, it has been apprehended more
 “ advantageous, and for the good of the publick,
 “ (till peace and fewer demands upon the finances
 “ allow of greater reliefs) to unite in a single hand
 “ or farmer all the revenues, subsidies and sepa-
 “ rate taxes of each province, that by this means
 “ may be removed the oppressions owing to a
 “ multiplicity of collectors at the same time; and
 “ in consequence of it, I have resolved, and given
 “ orders to the council of the finances, that upon
 “ seeing the draught inclosed, (which for this
 “ purpose I commanded to be made, containing
 “ the particular amounts of all the revenues, rais-
 “ ed in each province, and computed according
 “ to what they last yielded, whether by farming
 “ or administration; as also a detail of all the
 “ pensions, according to the discounts that were
 “ ordered to be made this present year) all the said
 “ revenues be drawn out, published, and let out

“ to farm anew for the term of two years, to
 “ subjects most responsible, and at the best prices
 “ to be obtained : And in order to facilitate this
 “ affair, and raise their value, by a saving of the
 “ interest and expences occasioned by the sums of
 “ money that used to be advanced, for the future
 “ no advance money shall be demanded : but it is
 “ to be understood, that all the revenues, contri-
 “ buted by each province, as they are set forth in
 “ the said draught, are to be let, and farmed
 “ entire by one single person, or in company, who
 “ shall have power to farm out each district by
 “ itself, as he shall think fit, under this express
 “ condition, that in the said farms the several
 “ taxes of each town or division be not separated ;
 “ it being understood, that every city, town, or
 “ place, can be obliged to pay only to one single
 “ person, or farmer, the whole amount of its
 “ taxes ; in so much that he alone can compel
 “ the payment, in the case of a failure in con-
 “ tributing their quota, since by this provision,
 “ there cannot be several collectors at the same
 “ time ; and as I am fully convinced of the zeal
 “ and duty, which the presidents, and other
 “ members of my council of the finances will
 “ manifest in the discharge of their obligation and
 “ the trust reposed in them, I am in hopes, they
 “ will be more than ordinary solicitous to aug-
 “ ment the farms of the revenues, in proportion
 “ to their real value, and with this view at the
 “ time of their being proclaimed, make my sub-
 “ jects sensible of the many abatements, which
 “ are insured, and charges saved by means of this
 “ regulation, that were prejudicial, both to the
 “ people and the farmers themselves, and that on

“ this account they ought to yield more: The
 “ farmers of the whole revenues of each province,
 “ are to be bound to pay the sum stipulated and
 “ entire in the capital of the province, to the
 “ treasurer-general of the same; that is, so much
 “ as shall belong to the pensions, with the same
 “ deductions, that were made this present year;
 “ in two payments yearly, one moiety of it in the
 “ end of June, and the other moiety in the end
 “ of December every year; and the said treasurer-
 “ general shall immediately remit the same sum
 “ into the hands of a paymaster, whom I shall
 “ appoint for this purpose in every province; all
 “ of it in current coin, it being so ordered, that
 “ the receipt of such paymaster shall be a legal
 “ discharge to the treasurer in his accounts, and
 “ what shall belong to my revenue is also to be
 “ paid in the capital of the province, into the
 “ hands of the said treasurer-general of the same,
 “ by equal monthly payments, the first of which
 “ is to be in the end of January every year, and
 “ the rest also regularly, without any plea what-
 “ ever to the contrary; a third part of it in vel-
 “ lon, and the remaining two thirds in good and
 “ lawful coin, gold or silver; and the receipts of
 “ the said treasurer are to be a legal discharge, that
 “ by annually transmitting them to my great trea-
 “ surer, he may give his, which shall be sufficient
 “ for the final adjusting of the farmer’s accompt
 “ every year. For the better security of my royal
 “ revenues farmed, I give in charge to the coun-
 “ cil, that besides the letting of them to persons
 “ of good credit and responsible, they take parti-
 “ cular care what sort of securities they accept
 “ from the farmer; for as no advance-money is
 “ required,

" required, which was an additional security for
 " the amount of their farms, it follows that none
 " should be taken now, but what are sure, and
 " equivalent both to my royal revenue and the
 " publick money ; therefore I order, that no se-
 " curities be admitted, except in pensions or efectos
 " of Madrid, and these to be valued at five per
 " cent. of the neat produce, which, after all taxes
 " and other deductions made, shall be actually of
 " sufficient value ; that is, the fund taken at the
 " rate of five per cent. shall be equivalent to the
 " annual amount of a fourth part of the farm ;
 " and lest they may prove fraudulent or uncer-
 " tain securities, and that to the end of every
 " lease, the writings of these pensions or efectos
 " may be deposited in a safe place, there shall be
 " provided, in the secretary's office of the upper
 " chamber of accompts, chests with three locks,
 " where they shall be laid up, as soon as received
 " and registred, and the first president or governor
 " of the upper chamber of accompts shall have
 " one of the keys, the solicitor of the said cham-
 " ber another, and the secretary the third key :
 " Nor are they to be restored, till after the far-
 " mers have finally settled their accompts, but in
 " the mean time shall be given them by the said
 " secretary a certificate of them, signed by the
 " first president or governor, and the solicitor of
 " the upper chamber of accompts, by virtue of
 " which shall be continued to them the payment
 " of the pensions or efectos, as if they had the
 " originals in possession ; and that no doubt or
 " distrust may arise from depositing such securities,
 " it is to be understood and observed, that after
 " the farmer at the end of every year has presented

" the receipt, which is to be taken of the treasurer-general, for the amount of what is due from him that year, it shall be a legal discharge for closing his accompts in the upper accountant's office, without any thing farther required, except the particulars of what the revenue has been really worth, and had yielded that same year, and this sworn to ; and at the expiration of the farmer's term, the above securities shall be restored without any alteration or delay. Immediately after every provincial farm shall upon this footing be concluded, there shall be drawn out a particular accmpt of the clear amounts of the pensions, and of the neat produce, after these deductions, to my royal revenue, which is not to be ranged, as it has been hitherto done, under separate articles ; for the whole is to be put without distinction into the provincial chests ; it being understood, that the price of the farm is to be divided into no more than two funds, one of pensions, the other of my royal revenue ; as by this means there will not be the confusion that has arisen from the various accompts or articles, and the appropriations that have hitherto been customary ; and there shall also be put into my royal hands a detail, containing the sums raised by each farm and province, as well to the pensions, as my royal revenue ; and all the pensions that shall any ways concern my royal revenue, whether they be appropriated to secret services, or any other purpose whatever, shall be added to, and included in its fund ; and as experience has made appear the advantage it is to the towns, when at the beginning of every lease they have

" entered

entered into a composition for all their taxes, as
 they avoid the perplexities, troubles, and disadvantages; which a severe administration usually brings : For by this means, knowing immediately what they are to pay, there is a regular assessment made upon the families, and they take their own measures for the payment in the customary places, without danger of oppression ; I order, that it be given them in charge, and that they be exhorted in my name, for their relief and convenience, to enter into such compositions with them for all their taxes, to avoid the evils of a rigorous administration. As to what regards the difficulty from the leases, that still subsist, and have not expired, nor do expire at the end of this year ; I order the council, that as the persons who now have them, give us entire satisfaction, security and confidence, to prevail upon them to order it so among themselves, as to form companies, and agree to continue them from and after the first of January ; but in such a manner, that one single person or company be obliged to answer for the whole of a province, in the shape and upon the footing already mentioned ; and in case they shall come to reasonable terms, they shall then continue the farm, and otherwise it shall be let to other proprietors : And though the utmost attention and care has hitherto been employed to annihilate all advance-mones, usually paid by the farmers, and some possibly may subsist, and are not still extinguished ; in such a case my will is, that immediately, or at most within two months, every farmer transmit to the council of the finances memorials setting

“ setting forth, and proving their claims, that an
 “ order may be sent to the new farmers, entering
 “ upon their office, to pay them the whole of
 “ what they ought to have received for those
 “ advance-monies, in the very places where the
 “ reimbursement was to have been made, and
 “ the practice put a stop to, that from this pro-
 “ ceeding they may sustain no prejudice. As to
 “ the alterations to be made in the management,
 “ government and administration of the revenues
 “ general, I have them under consideration, and
 “ will shortly make such regulations, as are to
 “ be observed in the council of the revenue, &c.

In chapter 105, will be inserted the very draught or accompt, referred to in this decree, with a distinct explanation of the state of the several taxes of each province, and the amount, as well as deduction of, the pensions charged upon each of them; and in the next a more particular enumeration of the happy consequences of this new disposition, and a way to remove some difficulties, that are apprehended in the execution of it.

C H A P. LVIII.

The great advantages that result from uniting the provincial revenues, in the manner mentioned in the foregoing chapter; and a way to remove some difficulties, observed in the execution.

BEFORE the new regulation of the provincial taxes already mentioned, the revenue was under the management of above eighty farmers, barely for the provincial revenue; for there was not only
 in

in the same province, but in the same city, or town, a variety of farmers, one for the Alcavalas, another for the Millones, and the like for the rest, which also doubled and trebled the number of guards, collectors and other agents, to the very great and visible augmentation of the charges, and consequently more frequent oppressions; since that the kingdom of Granada alone was divided into seventeen farms in the hands of eleven different proprietors, exclusive of some branches of the revenues in the hands of administrators, and others independent, and under composition. The same thing prevailed in several other large kingdoms and provinces, but in the lesser there were not quite so many; so that in one single province were almost as many farmers for these revenues, as there are now for all the twenty-one provinces mentioned in chap. 19. These now are all let to fifteen or sixteen proprietors; for one proprietor farms two or three provinces; and all of them are persons of so good credit, that they pay punctually, and even a month advance, without any failure; a circumstance that never happened during the multiplicity of farmers, many of which being adventurers, and having nothing to lose, engaged very rashly to try at all events, to make their fortune; and in case their imprudent undertaking miscarried, they secured their persons by flight, leaving the revenue deficient, and carried off as much of it as they could. For notwithstanding security had been taken, it could never be sufficient to replace the many millions of crowns, which the royal revenues annually amount to.

As all general rules admit of exceptions in some particulars, there are persons who alledge, that in consequence

consequence of letting all the revenues of every province united into one farm, some of which rise up to a very large sum, those of Sevil, Granada, and Toledo in particular ; there are few subjects responsible, or disposed to engage in so great an undertaking, especially if they are required to make monthly advances, and when the competitors are few, so good prices cannot be obtained as when they are many. Hence they are willing to infer, that the revenues suffer by it, and are inclinable to bring them back into the old channel. It may be said in answer, that the loss which the provincial revenues are imagined to sustain on this account, is by no means certain ; for it is notorious, that under the last farms, when they were divided into smaller portions, and before this new regulation, the whole amount of the provincial revenues was 2400,433,652 maravedis ; and by the accompts given in the 19th chapter of the year 1722, after the new regulation had taken place, they yielded 2624,268,839 maravedis ; and if this opinion, notwithstanding it wants this main support, should still gain some credit, and it be imagined that the revenues might be improved, were they portioned out into less farms, even then, I think, one may obviate this difficulty, without altering the substance of the new plan, if we divide the larger provinces into treasurerships or districts ; and, as the kingdom of Sevil comprehends five treasurerships, or districts, two of them to be let to one person and the other three to another, or to joint proprietors, and the like rule prevail in the kingdoms of Granada, Toledo, and Galicia, and the provinces of Burgos, and Estremadura, whose revenues are very considerable ; and thus would be preserved pretty near an equality with the other middling provinces,

provinces, such as Cordova, Jaen, Valladolid, Segovia, Leon, Cuenca, &c. provided all the revenues of the cities, or towns in every treasurership, partition, or district, be united and farmed by one single proprietor, which is the principal aim of his majesty's decree above-mentioned, and secures all the benefits proposed by it.

Others object, that under the circumstances of farming out all the revenues of a province or district together, there will be no opening for an increase or advancement but in the gross; since by this plan it cannot be certainly known what revenue or revenues rise or fall in each province; for it may happen, that the Alcavalas and Cientos, for instance, may be capable of improvement, and not the Millones, &c. or vice versa, as the consumption, and sales upon which the duties depend, are more or less; and whenever an advance is made, and distributed equally among all the revenues, that tax will be rated to its disadvantage which produced the increase, and the rest that had no hand in it, be unduely benefited; and even those that by their own nature, or the accident of times, might have suffered, perhaps, some injury by being farmed separately; and by reason of this undistinguishing method of proceeding, one shall be also as little able to discern precisely, whether each revenue may yield enough for the pensions charged upon it or not; a consequence of which may be, that the royal revenue will be injured, and the pensioners benefited on some occasions, and the contrary happen at other times.

I shall not presume so far, as to decide whether these disadvantages ought to submit, or not, to the benefits arising from the said union of the revenues,

nues, nor do I judge it necessary to determine the point. For it is visible, that should all the revenues of a province or district, go always united into one farm, agreeable to the intent of the royal decree, such a distinction and information, as is wanted and convenient, may be attained; especially for the regulation of the pensions, provided we only leave out the customary clause in the conditions of the obligation, *that no increase or reduction can be allowed separately, but it must be general upon all the taxes*; and that instead of it (in order to obviate the said difficulties) there be a clause put in, which was inserted in the contract lately made with Don Andrés Bernardo Blanco Barela, on his taking upon himself the charge of the revenues arising from the river of Sevil, fish, snow, cards, &c. whose patent bears date March 9, of this very year 1724. The condition recommended is as follows.

That in as much as he has also signed an obligation, charging himself during the same four years with the revenues of cards, the extraction and regalia by the river of Sevil, and the taxes united to them, that of a fifth upon snow for the kingdom, and the Alcala of snow at Madrid, which comprehend the Millones included in this; and experience has shewn how convenient it is, to have them all go united, that the deficiency of some may be rendered more tolerable by the improvement of others; it is an express condition, that any person or persons, who shall please to offer an advanced price for any one revenue or revenues, may do so, and it be allowed of, since it is stipulated, and agreeable to practice, and the provision made by law; but it is only on condition, that he who makes such an offer, charge himself

himself with the other taxes at the same price, they shall have been set at ; this being to be understood, according to the nature of each revenue, and the provision made by the laws of the kingdom.

Care is also taken, with a view of having this condition better observed, to insert in the same contract a detail of the respective sums, which this farmer is to pay for each of the taxes he has taken in charge ; and in case this condition is duly observed, there is not only a way to discover the particular revenues that rise and fall, or continue the same, but by means of it we also gain that particular knowledge of them, which is convenient to regulate the pensions, and obviate the difficulties that have been represented ; and without the least scruple may be continued for the future the new regulations, made for managing and collecting the taxes, upon account of the many advantages its continuance yields to the royal revenue, the people and commerce.

C H A P. LIX.

Two decrees of his present majesty, prescribing a new method of disposing and collecting the revenues-general, which are chargeable in the custom-houses, and in the inland parts, with a distinction made between such as are under administration and farmed.

“ **S**EEING that by a decree of December 26,
 “ of the last year 1713, I ordered to advertise, upon my prescribing a rule for the manner of farming out the provincial revenues, that
 “ I should do the same for managing and collecting
 “ ting

“ ting the revenues-general, because it was under
 “ consideration ; and having deliberated upon the
 “ form of regulating their administration, to save
 “ the excessive charges of it occasioned by the
 “ great number of guards and officers that are
 “ employed as centinels at the ports to prevent
 “ frauds, which nevertheless continue to be prac-
 “ tised, through the misbehaviour of the guards
 “ of one revenue favouring frauds of the other,
 “ because of the farms being in different hands, to
 “ the multiplying of the expence, without ob-
 “ taining the end of putting a stop to the running
 “ of goods ; I have resolved, that observing the
 “ very plan of the above decree of December 26,
 “ so far as relates to securities, the form of pay-
 “ ments, discharging the pensions, and the specie
 “ in which the payments are to be made, and all
 “ other provisions contained in it, all those reve-
 “ nues, that go under the name of revenues-ge-
 “ neral, be farmed in like manner from the first
 “ day of January of this year, at the best prices,
 “ (after having first drawn out and proclaimed
 “ them, viz. all those revenues that are raised by
 “ duties, which any commodities pay upon expor-
 “ tation out of, or importation into the kingdom)
 “ to one company, or single farmer, that all of
 “ them may at the same time be conducted, and
 “ guarded by the same administrators, officers, and
 “ centinels ; that there may be no necessity, by
 “ the farmers of each revenue being different per-
 “ sons, and independent of one another, for each
 “ of them to have their guards at every port and
 “ custom-house, with separate salaries ; since by
 “ this alteration one single guard may serve for
 “ the whole, and those favourable opportunities
 “ of

“ of committing frauds and injustices be cut off,
“ which were owing to the very persons who
“ ought to have prevented them : Moreover, all
“ the other revenues, which are raised upon duties,
“ charged upon goods in the inland parts of the
“ kingdom, and the monopolies shall be farmed
“ out to other different subjects, in company, or
“ single, at the best prices that shall be offered ;
“ in which regulation are not comprehended at
“ present the revenues of tobacco and salt, which
“ are under actual administration to the use of my
“ royal revenue ; upon which account they are
“ distinguished into two classes, in the two draughts
“ inclosed ; and it is to be a condition, that the
“ whole price of both be paid in Madrid, as it is
“ now practised for most part of them : And for
“ the more ease and advantage in letting out the
“ former, which are the revenues-general, it is to
“ be understood, that they may be divided into
“ two portions or farms ; one for the ports, whose
“ duties go under the name of Diezmos, and the
“ other for those that are called the Almojarifaz-
“ gos ; and if it shall be thought convenient to let
“ out that of wool separately, in the different
“ manner, in which its duties are now collected,
“ it shall also be done. The two revenues of the
“ mint, and Media-Annata upon places, as they
“ are not capable of being farmed, are to be always
“ under administration to the use of my royal
“ revenue. In the council of the revenue, &c.

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The revenues-general of the custom-houses, which are raised by the duties charged upon commodities and fruits imported into, and exported out of this kingdom, according to their value, in the year 1714, when the above decree was issued out, with this draught annexed to it.

Revenues.	Whole value.	Amount of pen- sions.	Net monies to the king.	Rates per cent.
Almojarizgo of Sevil	68,000,000.	19,230,010.	48,769,990.	8
Diezmos of the Sea of Castile	59,523,787	15,814,756.	43,709,031.	6
Puertos Altos &c.	8,676,213	2,216,428.	6,459,785.	
Revenue of Wool	56,000,000.	17,343,250.	78,656,750.	
Extens. of Wool	25,500,000.		25,500,000.	
Reven. of the Canaries	14,000,000	1,537,560	12,462,440.	
1 Real per lib. of Cacao and Chocolare.	16,000,000.		16,000,000.	6
Raisins of Malaga	15,051,000	775,088.	14,275,912	10
Reven. of Ca- cao and Cho- colate	16,000,000.	625,174.	15,374,826.	6
Revenue of white Paper	6,695,000	2,251,989.	4,443,011	6
The 2 per cent. 4 th part plate of the custom house of Sevil	4,940,000.		4,940,000.	4
A second 2 per cent. of Die- zmos	14,625,000		14,625,000.	
2 per cent of the custom- house of Ma- laga, &c.	5,608,000.		5,608,000.	
Second 2 per cent of the custom house of Cadiz	9,688,828.		9,688,828.	6
Second 2 per cent. of the custom house of Murcia.	2,300,000.		2,300,000	
Revenue of the Exports of Sevil	4,120,000	1,260,765.	2,859,235.	
Exports of Ma- laga.	4,500,000.	723,462.	3,776,538.	6
<hr/>				
370,767,828		61,778,481	308,909,347	mrs.

These 17 Revenues were farmed by twelve different subjects, and are now administered by the governor of the council of the finances, a considerable increase being experienced from it. Other

Other revenues-general, which consist of duties charged upon several commodities in the inland parts of the kingdom, including such as are monopolised, according to the value they were of when the above-mentioned decree was issued out.

Revenues.	Whole value.	Pensions.	Net monies to the King.	Rates per cent.
Revenue of Cards	3,675,000	859,075	2,815,925	5
Revenue of the Arbitrio, and 5th of Snow	2,249,395	1,088,199	1,161,196	
Servicio, and Montazgo	16,558,000	4,597,923	11,960,077	8
Revenue General of Tobacco	550,674,000	4,303,176	546,370,824	
Revenue General of Snow	9,682,000	83,754	9,598,246	6
Revenue of brandy	7,250,000		7,250,000	4
Revenue of Fish	19,055,000	2,185,496	16,869,504	8
Revenue of Soap	17,500,000	927,966	16,572,034	
Revenue of the Estafetas	66,750,000		66,750,000	
Media Anata on Places & Pensions	47,565,607	13,011,496	34,554,111	
The Mint	750,720	144,672	606,048	
	741,709,722	27,201,757	714,507,965	mrs

SALT Duty.

Castile	96,714,090	10,094,630	86,619,460	6
Galicia and Asturias.	68,017,705	5,424,530	62,593,175	8
Atienza, Estpartinas, and Cuenca	133,252,988	19,623,066	113,629,922	8
Badajoz, and Murcia	30,699,222	2,802,778	27,896,444	6
Andalusia	116,856,375	12,746,862	104,109,513	10
Total of Salt duties	445,520,380	50,691,866	394,828,514	
Total of the other Reven.	741,709,722	27,201,757	714,507,965	mrs.
	1187,230,102	77,893,623	1109,336,479	mrs.

These revenues were also farmed by different hands, excepting the revenue-general of tobacco, and those of the Media-Annata, and the mint, which were under administration, and continue also in the same shape to this day: Those of salt and the Estafetas are likewise under administration.

As the revenues of silk and sugars in the kingdom of Granada, are particular and distinct from the other provinces, they are also inserted here according to their amount before the union of the provincial revenues, that they may be ready for any future considerations that shall be offered.

Revenues of Granada silk and sugars.

	Entire value	Pensions	Net monies to the king.	Rates per cent.
Revenue of silk	9,183,493	6,174,463	3,009,030	0
Alcavalas and Cientos on sugars.	6,283,344	735,747	5,547,597	6
Impost of sugars.	12,666,668	42,594	12,624,074	6
	28,033,505	6,952,804	21,080,701	ms.

In a decree of December 8 of the same year 1714, dispatched to the councils of Castile and the finances, his majesty was pleased to explain and enlarge the rules for the new method of disposing and collecting the revenues-general of the custom-houses, the preamble of which, and the most remarkable clauses in it, are as follows.

“ It being convenient for my service, now that
 “ we enjoy the benefit of peace, to re-establish
 “ upon a solid and lasting basis the administration
 “ of all the revenues-general, as well with a
 “ view to improve them, as to favour the com-
 “ merce

" merce both of my subjects, and allies, and by
 " all sort of measures to prevent, as well the frauds
 " committed by runners of contraband, and other
 " merchandise, who have an understanding with
 " the merchants, and mutually serve each other
 " by the fraud; as also those practised by the far-
 " mers, who being different persons in the sever-
 " al inland custom-houses of the frontiers, and
 " in the ports for collecting the Almojarifazgos
 " and Diezmos, have taken the liberty to lessen
 " my duties by an exaction only of a certain pro-
 " portion of what is due, and chargeable by the
 " other revenues, soliciting and inducing the
 " traders to import and land their merchandise at
 " the ports within their own respective farms, for
 " the sake of the greater indulgence, they dispense
 " in the duties, insomuch that this fraudulent
 " practice growing by an understanding with each
 " other, there has been found so great a reduc-
 " tion of such duties, as is most for our interest to
 " insist upon, that in some parts they have been
 " absolutely destroyed, and it is much to be fear-
 " ed the same fate must attend the rest, to the
 " utter ruin of my royal substance, unless a speedy
 " and seasonable remedy be provided against this
 " great irregularity. For which purpose, and
 " since all the farms of these revenues are dissolved
 " by the decree of May 21, in this year, from
 " and after the first of January of the same; I
 " have resolved that all the revenues-general be
 " administr'd, and the collection, advantage, and
 " whole management of them placed in one
 " single hand; under the influence of a company
 " of directors in Madrid, which I empower to
 " name all the officers, that shall be convenient,

“ as well in, as out of the capital, to administer
 “ and collect these duties in general, to assign
 “ each of them reasonable stipends, and give them
 “ such instructions, as shall be for my royal ser-
 “ vice, for their better regulation and conduct in
 “ their respective duties : And I have resolved at
 “ the same time, that the different duties, that
 “ were collected for the several revenues and per-
 “ sons, who had them in charge, be now col-
 “ lected by a single hand, insomuch that there be
 “ not in any port or custom-house, more than one
 “ single administrator, under whose direction are
 “ to be all the guards, officers, and dependants
 “ within his district, to save the extraordinary
 “ charges of them to each revenue, and which
 “ served but to create a multiplicity of salaries,
 “ and enable the proprietors of one revenue to
 “ defraud others of their rights, &c.

This royal decree, inserted in tom. 3. pag. 330
 of the last body of laws, contains several other
 instructions, relating particularly to the powers,
 this society was invested with for chastising cheats
 and other delinquents, with an inhibition laid
 upon the other courts, or officers, and some limi-
 tations of the military power; and though his
 majesty has since thought proper to dissolve this
 society, and invest the same authority in the go-
 vernor of the council of the finances, it is under
 like orders to keep these revenues always united,
 whether they be farmed or under administration,
 both to prevent a multiplicity of collectors, guards,
 &c. which being employed to no good purpose,
 and with an additional expence to the royal reve-
 nue, occasioned a want of hands for crafts and
 trades; and to prevent the other inconveniencies,
 which

which have been formerly experienced, and are mentioned in the said decree ; from the contents of which may be inferred the importance of this new regulation, from the benefits that are secured by it.

C H A P. LX.

Copies of letters sent by order of his present majesty December 12, 1718, to the captains-general and intendants of the provinces, charging them with the kind treatment of foreigners, and other instructions in favour of those that shall come into Spain, either to work, or serve in the army.

“ The following order has been sent to the
“ captains-general, and commanding officers on
“ the frontiers.

COMPLAINTS being made that there has not been shewn to foreigners, who have come into Spain by sea or land, that kind treatment, which his majesty desires, and is fitting, he has resolved, that orders be sent by the captain-general to the governors of the fortresses on the frontiers or sea-ports, that kind reception be given to the foreigners, that shall come thither ; and that if any of them please to go into the inland parts of these kingdoms, either to serve in the army, or exercise any mecha-nick trade, or other occupation whatsoever, accord- ing as it shall be the inclination, or ability of each person, that they be allowed to pass freely, and without interruption ; and that, to all such, as shall come on foot, be granted passports for the inland parts for such term of time, as shall be sufficient for their

arrival at the place desired, using such precaution, that the said term inserted in the pass may not serve them for a return back to their own country; and the said travelling passes are to have the following general clauses, that no obstruction be given them, but all the relief that shall be necessary in their journey; and an especial charge, that in all places they shall pass through in the direct road, there be provided for each person a lodging and bed for one night only, at the expence of the said places, and all other necessaries for money at the customary prices, without any exceeding in any case whatsoever; and in order that strangers, who shall come into these dominions, may find such favourable treatment and kind reception, the governors of the fortresses and ports, shall inform themselves of all such, as shall arrive there, and be inclined to settle in Spain, and use all their address to prevail with those, that understand any mechanick arts, to be sent to the places where the fabricks, manufactures, or other crafts are carried on, according to the inclination and abilities of each person, more especially to the chief town of the district, where the intendants reside: And that all such as be willing to serve in the army be passed to the nearest quarters of whatever nation the regiments may be, but preferably to those of their respective countries, however, without any violence in this or any other respect, since they are to have the liberty of choosing their residence and occupation, excepting that it may not be proper, for some especial reasons to allow of their residence in any frontier, fortress, or other particular place: All these things I communicate to your excellency by his majesty's command, that you may dispatch the necessary instructions for the execution and

and observation of them, as far as shall concern you ; your excellency giving also an especial charge to the governors, not to suffer their secretaries to demand any fee for such travelling passports, or upon any other pretence. God preserve, &c.

“ And his majesty orders, that as soon as the
“ intendants are made acquainted with this reso-
“ lution, that they use also the utmost of their
“ power, to procure kind treatment for foreigners
“ that shall come into these kingdoms, and direct
“ in those provinces where there shall be no mili-
“ tary commanding officers, that lodging be found
“ them in the same manner, as has been already
“ provided for such as shall come on foot, it being
“ understood only, when they are travelling into
“ the inland parts of Spain, but not when they
“ shall be returning towards their own, or other
“ foreign countries ; for at that time they shall
“ bear their own charges ; and in case of their
“ labouring under any infirmity or sickness, that
“ they take care to see them cured in the hospi-
“ tals of that jurisdiction ; and upon their reco-
“ very to furnish them with such travelling pas-
“ ses, as are already directed, for the prosecuting
“ of their journey, if it be not to go out of the
“ kingdom ; moreover, it is his majesty’s pleasure,
“ that the intendants use their influence to pre-
“ vail upon them to serve in the army, and that
“ such as shall be manufacturers be directed, and
“ settled in the places of their respective fabricks,
“ letters being sent along with them to the corre-
“ gidors and justices to receive and introduce them
“ into the said fabricks, the cultivation of lands,
“ or other occupations advantageous to the com-
“ munity ;

“ munity; but without any violence, or allowing
 “ them to be any ways distressed, and rather
 “ assisting and favouring them to the utmost of
 “ their power; and in case of its being discover-
 “ ed, that there are amongst them any skilful
 “ masters or workmen for the manufactories, and
 “ other occupations useful to the publick, and
 “ they shall be desirous of settling in any city or
 “ other place, it is his majesty’s intention, that
 “ the intendants, their deputies, the corregidors,
 “ and other justices, be diligent in settling, and
 “ procuring them a convenient habitation, at the
 “ charge of the same places, together with an
 “ exemption from the excises, and other taxes
 “ that shall be the property of the said towns,
 “ equivalent to what they, and their workmen
 “ can consume, but both of them for a limited
 “ number of years, while they shall labour at
 “ their sabricks, or other occupations, which shall
 “ be amicably adjusted between the parties con-
 “ cerned; it being understood, that for what
 “ concerns the royal duties or revenue, there be
 “ no immunity granted them, without a previous
 “ order from his majesty, for the obtaining of
 “ which the intendants shall present a memorial,
 “ at such times, as there shall be any inducement
 “ to such an indulgence: It is also his majesty’s
 “ pleasure, for the better securing this important
 “ purpose, that the intendants, and their deputies
 “ be vigilant in the execution of every thing, pro-
 “ vided with this intent in the instructions to the
 “ intendants, and particularly in the 43^d article;
 “ and that they regularly transmit an account of
 “ the progress that has been made in it; all which
 “ I communicate to your lordship by his majesty’s
 “ command,

"command, for your observance of that part of
"it, which concerns you. God preserve, &c."
The Pardo, December 12, 1718. •

Don Miguel Fernandez Durán.

CHAP. LXI.

Some capital clauses in a proclamation made in the year 1723, in respect to wearing apparel, &c. that particularly interest our manufactures and trade; how advantageous it is to continue the prohibition, and extend it to America, with amendments and alterations, to suit it to that country; and other circumstances.

HIS present majesty in his royal palace of St. Ildefonso, always attentive to the good of his people, observed the necessity of reforming the abuses introduced in wearing apparel, and other superfluous expences, that not only distressed his subjects, but were injurious to our manufactories and commerce, and at the same time favourable to the trade of foreigners, by means of the large sums of money drawn out of these kingdoms in payment for the commodities, which they supplied us with, rather ministering to vanity and ostentation, than to our necessities and decency; and not staying till his tribunals should represent to him these disadvantages, and propose a remedy, his paternal affection and christian zeal disposed him to send orders to his council of Castile, to draw up a rough draught of a proclamation, with all due regard, as well to the past, as the present state of things, and immediately transmit the same to his hands for his royal approbation; and this having

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having been done, it was formed, and published November 15, 1723, prescribing the reform, moderation, and rules, contained in the 29 articles, the said proclamation consists of, and which is inserted in tom. 3. pag. 332 of the last body of laws, all of them tending, not only to preserve modesty, and reduce the exorbitant expence of wearing apparel, &c. to the great benefit of the kingdom in general, and of families and individuals in particular, but also to favour and encourage the manufactories and commerce of his subjects; a consideration, that induced me to offer in this place, the clauses that principally conduce to this important end, together with some of the motives, that gave occasion to such a measure, and recommend the putting of it strictly into execution; as it is enforced more by the royal and prevalent example of their majesties, the prince and infantes, than the rigour of the law itself; and his present majesty gave the more force and sanction to this, by graciously condescending to be the first to pay his voluntary submission to it, observing it even before hand, and not waiting till the prohibition took place. Her majesty, the queen, also, with chearfulness divested herself of all her ornaments of gold and silver, that usually did but cloud her natural graces. His royal highness the prince, and their royal highnesses the infantes, instantly and readily submitted to the example of their majesties; an inviolable law with their highnesses. By such happy and laudable beginnings was anticipated and secured a general reform and moderation in dress, and other things, verifying on this occasion, that most wise maxim, *the more a prince is submissive to the laws, the higher rises the duty*
of

of his subjects, and so much more confirmed is his just authority over them.

The main advantage to trade from this proclamation is, that by absolutely prohibiting the wear of tiffues, brocades, &c. embroideries, ribbons, orices, and all other woven commodities of gold or silver, most part of which come from abroad, was prevented the extraction of those large sums of money, that used to be drawn out of the kingdom, corresponding to the value of them.

The restraints, and other regulations contained in the third article, in respect to white and black laces, have also a very happy influence upon trade.

Among other things it is prescribed in the fifth article, that all the officers of superior, as well as inferior rank, and even the meanest in the tribunals, both of Madrid, and elsewhere, including the corregidors, justices and regidors, do dress in black; from which order ensues also great advantage to the cloth, and other commodities of Spain, where in many places blacks are manufactured, and fine enough; and as there is no longer a temptation for variety of colours, raised patterns, and prime mixtures, in which foreign fabricks at this time have greatly the advantage over us, it is very natural for us, (and it has already been experienced) to wear our own black cloth, and stuffs; and by this means our own commodities are much more consumed; for there must be a very considerable number of persons clothed in black; as it takes in all the tribunals, courts, and their dependants, both within and out of the capital, and numbers, who of their own free motion, will no doubt dress in the same manner, from the powerful influence an example of so many persons of distinction and authority,

authority, that are members of the said tribunals and directions, must needs have over others.

In the same article it is also ordered, that the woven and other commodities of silk, allowed to be worn, *be manufactured in the kingdoms of Spain and its dominions, or in countries, we have treaties of commerce and alliance with; and that all foreign merchandise of this kind be of the standard, weight, measure, and mark, which they are obliged to have, that are wrought and manufactured in these kingdoms, pursuant to the provisions made in the laws, 21, 22, and 23, under tit. 12. lib. 5. of the body of statutes and ordinances made by the board of trade, and approved by the council; a regulation that appears also very prudent, both as it insures the goodness and duration of the commodities, and may discourage the importation of them from foreign kingdoms. For if we admit only such as shall be of the said standard, quality, &c. it is natural to imagine, that foreigners will not find their account in many of them, as by this means they cannot afford them at their usual prices; and we ourselves must have as little temptation to purchase, when we can have cheaper from our own manufacture, and fine enough. But I have been informed, that in this instance, the prohibition has not been attended to, either in, or out of the capital; and as the custom-houses and register-offices are the places where the principal care is to be taken, both in point of examining, and preventing the introduction of them, and putting in execution other things provided by the laws, very strict orders, methinks, should be given to all the administrators of the customs, and others, whom it may concern, to employ great vigilance*

in the observation of this rule, together with instructions, setting forth the quality, standard, weight, mark, and other circumstances, which the goods ought to have, and the laws above-mentioned require, and also the penalties upon all such, as shall offend against them, and every other consideration that shall tend to the punctual observation of them. To this end, it behoves at the same time to use great caution in the custom-house of Madrid, in the warehouses and shops of this capital, and the principal cities and towns, causing them to be examined from time to time by officers of credit, from whose obligation we may expect a prudent execution, and strict discharge of a trust, that has in view a due respect and obedience to the laws of the kingdom.

It has been also apprehended, that many cloaths, waistcoats in particular, embroidered with silk, are imported, and in all probability from a belief, that as they are neither silver nor gold, it is allowable to do it. But as this law provides, that the embroideries, allowed to be worn, are to be of the manufacture of these kingdoms, it will be also very prudent to give the necessary orders to the administrators of the customs, both in Madrid, and other places, not to allow any entries of cloaths, or other things embroidered, even though they be neither silver nor gold, in conformity to law 62. tit. 18. lib. 6. published by king Philip IV. in 1624, and already produced in the 24th chapter of this treatise, which also prohibits the importation of cloaths, hangings, beds, chairs, and other goods, made up in foreign countries.

I am of opinion, that the same motives, that prevailed upon his majesty to publish such a prohibition

hibition upon the continent of Spain, plead for its being enlarged and extended to his majesty's American dominions, after such alterations and amendments, as shall better suit the situation, and various qualities of those regions, that are so extensive, as to reach almost from pole to pole; a reflection convincing at first sight, that the same rule cannot serve all parts of them, when they so much differ from one another, as those are known to do. But then there are general rules, salutary and interesting in all climates, such as moderation in wearing apparel, &c. and a reform in this instance is even more necessary in the Indies than in Spain, from a vast profusion in their expence, to the ruin of many families, more especially in great quantities of fine lace, gold, silver, and other rich stuffs, most of which are a foreign manufacture, and by means of them Spanish America is drained of many millions of dollars. Upon these and other considerations, it is my judgment, that the prohibition should wholly take place in the Indies, as to the restrictions upon the wear of laces, and the absolute prohibition of stuffs, &c. that have either gold or silver in them, for cloaths, hangings, beds, chairs, coaches, and other uses; and pursuant to what is provided in the fifth article, that it be also enjoined the ministers of superior and inferior rank, and other dependants in the tribunals, as well at Lima and Mexico, the residence of the two viceroys, as elsewhere, including the accomptants, king's officers, and their dependants, to wear only black; and that the corregidors, regidors, and other dependants of the courts, do the same; as well as all secretaries and clerks without distinction. By this measure,

sure, we not only introduce a becoming and more respectable moderation, but fewer foreign goods will be consumed for reasons before given, when we spoke of it in regard to Spain; and that this, and every other injunction from his majesty, be more punctually observed, an especial charge ought to be laid upon the viceroys, and presidents of the courts, to be very vigilant in seeing it put in execution, to encourage and support it by their own personal example, and that of their family and servants: And notwithstanding it be morally certain, that the execution can meet with no difficulty in America, yet, methinks, both these, and the other parts of the prohibition in Spain, should be examined by the council of the Indies, some of whose members, both by theory and experience, thoroughly understand the constitution, customs, usages, and other circumstances, of those kingdoms, by having served his majesty, not only in Lima and Mexico, the residence of the viceroys, but in other provinces very distant from those two capitals, and will be qualified to give his majesty certain information, in what articles, and under what shape the prohibition may suit the several provinces of those his dominions, in order to pursue it the most effectual way.

C H A P. LXII.

Decrees of his present majesty for settling a fabrick of cristall and glass in Spain; how much it beboves us to improve and preserve it.

HIS majesty, in consideration of the great importance it is to establish in this kingdom a fabrick of cristall, which foreigners supply us

with, and by that means drain us of great sums of money, making use of our own *sosa* and *barilla*, the principal materials of the manufacture, of which there is great plenty in Spain, and in quality superior to that of all countries; his majesty has been pleased to grant at several times the three patents mentioned in the royal decree, which was dispatched to the councils of Castile and the finances, January 30, 1720, and is as follows.

“ Since the fabrick of cristal has not taken
 “ effect, which Don Thomas del Burgo, and
 “ company, charged themselves with in the year
 “ 1712, when I granted them a patent; and that
 “ also, which Don John Baptist Pomeraye under-
 “ took by virtue of a patent I granted him two
 “ years ago, met with no better success; and
 “ sensible of the great loss my people, and my
 “ own interest sustains from the decay of this
 “ manufacture, I have permitted Don John
 “ Goyeneche, to collect together in a place cal-
 “ led New Baztan masters and workmen, that
 “ withdrew out of my kingdoms upon the disap-
 “ pointment of the fabrick, set up by the said
 “ Don Thomas del Burgo, tho’ the other be not
 “ expired, in order to set up a new one in the said
 “ place; in consequence of which, he has col-
 “ lected to the number of twenty families of
 “ foreign workmen, built for them in the said
 “ place a very spacious dwelling house, together
 “ with ovens, and other workshops, necessary for
 “ all the materials and instruments in this impor-
 “ tant undertaking, and, ever since its establish-
 “ ment has maintained all the people at his own
 “ expence; and having in view the great advan-
 “ tage,

“ that must accrue to my kingdoms from the
“ establishment of the said fabrick, and others of
“ the like kind, on which account as it is my royal
“ disposition to cherish and encourage them as
“ much as possible, I have granted the said Don
“ John de Goyeneche, a patent for thirty years,
“ for the manufacture and free vending of cri-
“ stals, and glass, on the same favourable foot-
“ ing, which I granted to the said Don Thomas
“ del Burgo, and Don John Baptist Pomeraye,
“ and that, on no pretence whatever, he be taxed
“ for the barilla, which under his own direction,
“ or charge, shall be sown, gathered and con-
“ sumed, in the quarter adjoining to the said
“ fabricks, nor for any other portions, he shall
“ be obliged to purchase, of the product of these
“ kingdoms; empowering him also to have the
“ first refusal of these materials, at the usual pri-
“ ces, and also of the wood which it shall be
“ necessary for him to buy in the places adjoining
“ to his fabrick. It shall be examined in the
“ council of the finances, and the instruments
“ for putting this order in execution be speedily
“ dispatched.

From the face of this royal decree it is visible, that neither the first nor second co-partnership, which undertook this fabrick, could surmount the difficulties, or furnish the considerable expences, such an establishment usually occasions at its setting out, especially when the master-directors happen not to act with honour, a thing often experienced in new projects; or the hands employed in the several works are not equally dextrous; for the skill of some may be defeated by an ignorance in others, which is too often met with in

those foreigners, that have come over of their own heads, (and are not procured) and who generally leave their own country, and original business out of levity, or are rejected by the trade for their unskilfulness. And even when the masters and workmen are very capable, and do their duty, these difficult and chargeable enterprises too often miscarry, as it has sometimes been found in France, notwithstanding they collected and brought over artificers from Venice to lay the foundation, and Lewis XIV. for their encouragement, had granted the directors and proprietors many privileges, immunities, and supplies of money; however, by perseverance, and the application of his exalted measures, this interesting project was at length so happily executed, that the crystals of that kingdom exceed those of Venice both in quality and quantity; and in this instance is verified that maxim I advanced in the sixteenth chapter, that founding such important establishments, resembled but sowing the seeds of plants, and wanted the steady and due cultivation of a ministry, as well as a firm and powerful protection of the prince, to ripen and gather the fruits. And in every respect his most christian majesty took also especial care to facilitate, and secure a good market for the crystal that was manufactured, (a thing most material for the preservation of manufactories) by an edict, that laid a duty upon foreign glass imported into France of 2000 reals per quintal, while that of French manufacture paid but 15 reals per quintal exported, with a view to encourage, as well the home consumption of their own goods, as the exportation of them abroad, discouraging at the same time by such heavy duties the importation

tation of a foreign manufacture, as I have shewn in the twenty first chapter. A few years after, the better to accomplish these two interesting points, he employed another measure, which was an absolute prohibition of foreign glass; so that now France, not only answers her own demands, but exports also to other countries, and by this means has drawn money into the kingdom, and put a stop to the extraction of considerable sums, that went to Venice in payment for the great quantity of glass, they formerly had from thence, as every person must think, who reflects upon the large consumption there is of it in France, both for what is expended for coaches, windows, looking-glasses, and other ornaments, and its being so frail a commodity, that as one blast of wind forms, another destroys it. Upon the same account it is also evident, that the consumption of this commodity must be considerable in Spain, which calls upon us to employ the most vigorous and effectual measures, that are any ways practicable, for the encouragement and preservation of such a fabrick, in imitation of his majesty's grandfather.

Though these difficulties, a prodigious expence, and the recent miscarriage of the two partnerships above mentioned in Spain, that had charged themselves with this undertaking, twice defeated within the compass of a few years, disheartened, as it is natural to imagine, the generality of the kingdom, they were not sufficient to damp the zeal and resolution, with which Don John de Goyeneche, treasurer of the kingdom, undertook and pursues every measure in this important project, which tends to his majesty's service, and the interest of

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the publick, as is visible, from the contents of the same royal decree, and will appear farther, from other decrees, that shall be produced hereafter, when I speak of the many other useful manufactories that are set up by the same person, and still subsist in his two towns of Yllana, and Almeda, in New Baztan, peopled at his own charge, and in other places, that shall hereafter be taken notice of. For in spite of the above difficulties, the recent and repeated disappointments of the project under two partnerships, he engaged in it at his own risk, without any association; but his own industry and fortune laid the foundation, and maintains it at an immense charge in New Baztan, where glass is already manufactured fit for all uses. And though he might have been discouraged a few months ago, by finding it could no longer be supported in that place for want of wood, great plenty of which is requisite for such a purpose; yet he has had the spirit to engage in the new enterprize of transplanting it to the new town of Coron, near the vast and spacious forests of Cuenca, and has succeeded in it with a new charge of rebuilding dwelling-houses, and work-shops; and also to great advantage, both for the goodness and plenty of the christals, and the duration of the manufactory.

By the very same accident, a scarcity of wood, the like mischance befel one of the partnerships that undertook this fabrick in France; for having set it up in the suburbs of Paris, they were obliged to remove into the neighbourhood of large forests, with the advantage of a river to ease the expence of carriage.

CHAP.

C H A P. LXIII.

Great advantages to the navy, and merchant-men, from the project of cutting in Spain large trees, planks, and timber for masts, and other uses of shipping, and the conveyance of them to convenient parts; as also from the manufactories of pitch, tar, and rigging.

IF in the first and second establishment of the important and chargeable fabrick of glafs lately set up in Spain, Don John de Goyeneche manifested great zeal and resolution, and gave a fine example to all our worthy nobility, as it has been seen in the foregoing chapter, it is also certain, that he has given equal, if not greater proofs of both, in the vast and wonderful enterprise, which he engaged in, (by virtue of a patent from his majesty) of cutting down timber in the very heart of the Pyrenees; and in spite of the difficulty of craggy roads, and other obstructions, conveying huge trees, planks and other timbers of pine, fir, &c. for masts, and other uses of the shipping, over those high mountains, and deep valleys to the Ebro, and by that river to the sea, and other places that shall afterwards be mentioned. And the better to comprehend the difficulties, that have been encountered, and the measures employed for the attainment of this important service, I have thought proper to add the following particulars:

For the cutting down, and the transport of the said large trees, and other timbers, were established, and still subsist three works in the highest and most craggy parts of those mountains.

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One of them in the kingdom of Aragon, upon the mountains of Espuna, from whence the timber is drawn upon carriages for three leagues, along roads, that have been cut at a great expence from those mountains to the banks of the river Cinca, where linking them together, are formed, what they call floats, consisting of five or six trees, each of which is under the management of six or seven men, who are placed upon them with oars to guide them along ; and they are thus carried by the said river Cinca four leagues more above the city of Ainza, and enter into the Ebro below Mequinenza.

Another is in the same kingdom of Aragon, in the valley of Hecho, and upon the mountains of Oza, a league distant from the frontier of France, and from thence the trees are drawn upon carriages in very rough roads along the tops of the mountains, two leagues and a half, as far as the banks of the river Aragon Saburdon, a league distant from the town of Hecho, and there being linked together in the same way, they are conveyed with great fatigue by that rivulet for four leagues, and enter into the river Aragon, somewhat lower than the village of Xavier de Gay, two leagues from Xaca, from whence pursuing the same course they enter into the Ebro, below Milagro in the kingdom of Navarre, four leagues from Tudela.

The third of these works is in the kingdom of Navarre, in the vale of Roncal, and upon the mountains of Maze, Zurizabeiti, Yzaizpeta, which comprehends the district called Belague, a league from the frontier of France ; and drawing them upon carriages for two leagues on the high road to the river Esca, near the town of Isaba, they are there
linked

linked together, and carried by that river its whole course, which is four leagues, through many very troublesome windings, till it run into the river Aragon, below the village of Lucar, in the same kingdom of Aragon, and then they pass on to the Ebro, as it has been already observed.

Fabricks of pitch and tar, which are very necessary in shipping, are also established in several parts of the kingdom of Aragon and Catalonia, and particularly in the mountains of Tortosa, where, upon account of the great plenty of pine trees, useful for this purpose, the fabrick may be enlarged to any quantity we shall have occasion for. For this we are also indebted to his industry, as well as for the manufacture of all kinds of rigging in Port-Royal, and both of them are made with the hemp and alquitran of Spain ; upon account of the great consumption of these commodities, particularly of rigging, and as by fetching it from abroad, which was usual before this establishment, we ran a great hazard of its goodness ; for putting good hemp outwardly, they used to insert some that was rotten, or so bad within, (in which they could not be detected at the time of sale) that it made little or no resistance in the frequent and violent workings of the ships ; from whence have ensued lamentable accidents, ships, treasures, and lives being endangered, and sometimes perishing on this account. For these and other reasons it calls for our especial attention, that the manufacture of this commodity be continued in Spain, and enlarged so far, as to supply even all our merchant ships ; especially as its lands, with very little pains, produce quantities of good hemp, and plenty of alquitran is got from the above mentioned mountains. It would
also

also be very seasonable to take the like precaution in respect of sailcloth ; for there is great consumption of it, and it may be made very good, as we have an advantage in our hemp.

Cables, and other cordage, manufactured at Sada, in the kingdom of Galicia, are no ways inferior to those, that come from abroad ; and the bishoprick of Tuy in the same kingdom would furnish as much good hemp, as can be wanted. But our misfortune is, that the natives of that country sow but little, and sell what they have to the Portugueze ; and by this neglect our contractors import hemp from Riga, the capital of Livonia, the consequence of which, besides the real prejudice of being drained of our money, may be, that upon a rupture with Sweden, or any other power, we shall have no hemp, either from thence, or from Galicia, where they also make very good sailcloth, in the said manufactory of Sada. And these manufactories are capable of being so much improved, as to supply all the shipping in his majesty's dominions.

After those trees and other timbers have been conveyed by the way abovementioned into the great river Ebro, they are carried by it, thus linked together in floats, to the Alfaques of Tortosa, and from thence distributed into the several ports of the Mediterranean and the ocean for the use of the navy and merchantships, to the great and apparent advantage of the publick, both upon account of their goodness, and because by this provision, neither his majesty's men of war, nor the merchantmen, are left in a state of dependance, or under any risk of not having them from the northern provinces, either by reason of stormy weather,
or,

or, as it has been hinted, the accident of wars, or the jarring interests of powers, as it has often happened formerly. Besides, we save also by this means the large sums of money they drained us of, equivalent to the value both of the masts and planks, and of the rigging, pitch, and tar; the great benefits, and favourable consequences of which, I have thought proper to hint in this place, that, when we have under consideration the important affair of providing all these commodities in Spain, which equally conduce to a profitable commerce, and to secure his majesty the sovereignty of both seas, as it behoves us to do, this may find a surer support, and the protection of his majesty for their improvement and continuance; a thing that may with good reason be presumed upon, from the particular concern his majesty has shewn in favour of the navigation of this kingdom. These happy consequences shall be further illustrated in another chapter, and shewn to be an essential point, and indispensable, if we think of improving and preserving our trade.

C H A P. LXIV.

Privileges and immunities dispensed by his present majesty, in favour of manufactures. A fabrick of fine tapestry, rich silks, and fine cloths, with the pensions, supplies, and other provisions of his majesty.

HIS majesty, October 23, 1718, was pleased to dispatch the following decree to the council of the finances.

" Don

" Don John de Goyeneche, having represent-
 " ed, that by great industry, and at a considerable
 " expence, he had founded in his town of Olmeda
 " de la Cebollo several fabricks of cloths, buffs,
 " shamois leather, hats and other commodities,
 " that are usually imported from abroad, as also
 " in New Baztan, and that he had done all this
 " at his own charge, praying, that an indulgence
 " might be dispensed for a time, to the said town,
 " and its jurisdiction, in the royal taxes, which it
 " is now charged with, for the better improve-
 " ment and continuation of them, I thought pro-
 " per to send a person of integrity and confidence
 " to the said town of Olmeda, and its district,
 " to examine into the pretensions of this memo-
 " rial ; and as it has been found, that in the said
 " town of Olmeda, there were on foot 26 looms,
 " which annually manufacture to the amount of
 " 50000 yards of cloth, resembling that which
 " comes from France for the cloathing of the
 " troops ; that he had imported the said looms
 " from that kingdom at his own charge, for the
 " use of the principal manufacturer, granting him
 " freely the materials, building him a house, and
 " providing all the necessary utensils ; that he has
 " also set up six other looms, for the fabrick
 " of droguets and scarlets, such as those of Valde-
 " mero, in which are employed many persons of
 " both sexes, introducing and communicating
 " these arts to the natives of Spain ; and has laid
 " the foundation of a good building for an hospi-
 " tal, and another for a seminary, which he of-
 " fers to endow for the reception and education
 " of boys, to be also employed in the said fabricks,
 " that

“ that in the place called New Baztan, he has built
“ twenty two substantial houses of stone and
“ mortar, a very spacious church, and a house
“ contiguous ; and has also a distillery for brandy
“ and hungary water ; a fabrick for buff shamois leather, foldiers hats, both middling and
“ fine, with all proper utensils, tan pits, and other
“ things necessary to support these manufactories,
“ allowing at present all the profits to the manufacturer ; and that he has at the same time set
“ up looms for silk, handkerchiefs, ribbons, and
“ girdles, such as are made in Valencia, having
“ drawn over the principal manufacturers, with
“ their wives, children, and families from France,
“ and the North, and collected together all such
“ as he found useful in Spain, with great industry,
“ labour, and expence, and settled various other
“ trades, making such provision, as ought to be in
“ a town well supported and regulated, by transporting thither at his own charge, families of
“ peasants, giving them a sufficiency to live upon,
“ and supplying them with tools for the cultivation of those lands that were barren and deserted ;
“ that he is building an inn for the better entertainment of travellers ; and at the same time has
“ repaired the road to Madrid, making a new way
“ for carriages, and shortening it where it could
“ be done, and has built a bridge over the river
“ Tajuna, all at his own charge ; as also a chapel, where the workmen, who live remote from
“ the town, may hear mass ; and has raised several plantations for the refreshment and advancement of the whole ; that the village of Olmeda,
“ exclusive of the workmen, contains eighteen
“ families, and for their poverty are rated but as
“ thirteen

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“ thirteen and an half, and pay annually for their
 “ composition to the royal revenues thirty do-
 “ lons, besides the Alcavalas and Cientos, which
 “ concern the said Don John de Goyeneche; and
 “ as I am desirous of shewing the grateful ac-
 “ knowledgments due to the zeal, expence, and
 “ industry, which have raised this new town, and
 “ the said fabricks, to the general benefit of these
 “ kingdoms, and my interest, and that others
 “ may be encouraged to imitate an example so
 “ laudable and useful, I have resolved, that to
 “ the said village of Olmeda de la Cebolla, to the
 “ town of New Baztan, and all other places with-
 “ in its jurisdiction, no augmentation be made,
 “ nor shall be made to the taxes, paid by the
 “ whole district at this time, during the term of
 “ thirty years, in order to establish, confirm, and
 “ improve these fabricks, and the new town which
 “ has been settled there. It shall be examined
 “ by the council of the finances; and when it
 “ appears what sum they annually pay to all the
 “ revenues, taxes and duties, the instruments
 “ necessary for putting it in execution shall be dis-
 “ patched.

His majesty, February 14, 1719, vouchsafed
 to issue out another decree respecting the same
 manufactories, as follows:

“ Inconsideration that Don John de Goyeneche
 “ had founded in the village of Olmeda, and in
 “ New Baztan, and its jurisdiction, various fa-
 “ bricks and manufactories, I was pleased, by a
 “ decree of October the 23d last year, to order, that
 “ the said village, and its jurisdiction should not
 “ for

“ for thirty years be charged higher to the royal
“ duties, than what they were found actually to
“ pay at that time ; and now I have resolved,
“ that neither the natives of this kingdom, who
“ shall apply themselves to the manufactures,
“ which the said Goyeneche has introduced in
“ Olmeda, New Baztan, and its jurisdiction, nor
“ the innkeepers and shopkeepers that supply them
“ with provisions, shall find the said occupation
“ any impediment, or bar to their obtaining the
“ honourable employments of the republick,
“ which can be enjoyed by the state or degree of
“ Labradores ; and that all the manufactures of
“ the said fabricks be at the same time exempt for
“ thirty years from the Alcavalas, Cientos, and
“ other duties, in every city, town or place, where
“ the first sale of them shall happen, and enjoy
“ also an immunity from the duties of ports,
“ customhouses, and tolls ; and this exemption
“ from the Alcavalas, Cientos, &c. is to be under-
“ stood, and observed in the form, and under the
“ restrictions, the same was indulged to Don
“ Joseph Aguado for the cloths of his fabrick in
“ Valdemero ; and it is also my intention, that
“ the said immunity extend to duties of importa-
“ tion upon all the utensils that shall be wanted
“ for the several fabricks, the bran, and pastel
“ for dying, beaver skins, and camels hair for
“ hats, and fish oil for making buff, but to be
“ also dispensed under the same restrictions, it
“ was granted to the said Aguado. And at the
“ same time, I have granted to the said Don John
“ de Goyeneche the privilege of purchasing at
“ prime cost any materials of wool, silk, skins,
“ &c. that he shall want for his fabricks or ma-
“ nufactures,

“ manufactures, and which shall have been bought
 “ up for exportation, but not such as shall have
 “ been bought for other manufactories, or by na-
 “ tives of these kingdoms for their own use; but
 “ upon condition, that it be within the space of
 “ one month after those goods shall have been
 “ bought, which he shall thus take at prime cost;
 “ and for which Goyeneche is obliged to pay the
 “ price, with cost and charges, to the very city,
 “ town or place, where they shall be at the time
 “ of his claiming them. It shall be examined by
 “ the council of the finances, who shall dispatch
 “ the orders that are proper for putting it into
 “ execution, as far as relates to them.

By means of these, and other encouragements
 dispensed by his majesty, have been established,
 enlarged and improved, these fabricks, in the
 manner explained in chapter 62, and a greater
 progress is still expected from the warm zeal, and
 vigorous application of Don John de Goyeneche
 in this important concern, who in conducting it,
 has shewn more regard for the publick, than his
 own private interest; for it is certain, that in the
 first years of such establishments, the expence
 runs higher than the gains, as many have found
 by experience.

His majesty in his royal palace of Balsaín, was
 pleased to grant the city of Valladolid an indul-
 gence for their manufactures, mentioned in the
 following decree, dispatched July 18, 1722, to
 the council of the finances.

“ The board of trade, by virtue of an order, in
 “ which I had enjoined them to consider of ways
 “ and

“ and means to revive the trade of these king-
 “ doms, and prevent that, which foreigners carry
 “ on in the Indies, has represented to me, that
 “ some improvement has been made to it by the
 “ city of Valladolid, which proposes to make an
 “ addition to their present manufactories of fifty
 “ looms annually, for twenty successive years, to
 “ each of the fabricks of gold, silver, silk, and wool,
 “ provided during such time no alteration be made
 “ in the sum charged upon the city to the Alca-
 “ valas, Cientos, and Millones, and that it con-
 “ tinue upon the footing, and pay to these duties,
 “ revenues and taxes the same it did in the year
 “ 1713, when the city and the places united with
 “ it were distinguished from the general farm of
 “ the province, by the separate composition and
 “ contract, which the city and its companies made,
 “ both for the payment of the Alcavalas and Cien-
 “ tos, (which to the end of the same year 1713,
 “ was a stated sum, by virtue of the privilege it
 “ had for that purpose) and for an equivalent to
 “ the Millones; and as it has in view the impor-
 “ tant affair of re-establishing manufactures in these
 “ kingdoms, in order to revive its trade, and that
 “ the commodities consumed in it may no longer
 “ be supplied by foreigners, and that they be also
 “ prevented from introducing their goods into the
 “ Indies; for if those provinces be once supplied
 “ by goods made in this kingdom, it will follow,
 “ they will no longer send them from other pla-
 “ ces; being desirous at the same time, that the
 “ said city of Valladolid, by means of new fabricks,
 “ may recover itself out of the ruinous situation
 “ it at present labours under, and which has been
 “ owing to the decayed trade, and the unhappy cir-

“ circumstances of the times. Having conformed in
 “ every thing to this provision, as the said board
 “ of trade has proposed it to me, I have resolved,
 “ that in consequence of it, the council of the fi-
 “ nances, and court of the Millones, do make
 “ due provision, that from the first of January of
 “ this present year, to the end of that which comes
 “ in 1741, and comprehends twenty years, for
 “ which this indulgence is to continue in force,
 “ that no demand be made upon the said city for
 “ itself, and the places that are incorporated with
 “ it, for the Alcavalas, Cientos, and Millones,
 “ above what it was charged in the said year 1713,
 “ by the contract, at that time made for the pay-
 “ ment of them by the same city and its companies,
 “ under the express condition, that to obtain this
 “ advantage, and continue it for the time above
 “ mentioned, it be obliged to lay before that
 “ council, and the court of the Millones, at the
 “ end of every one of the said twenty years, suf-
 “ ficient proof of having fulfilled its part,
 “ by erecting the looms it has proposed to do, in
 “ the form and manner to which it shall be
 “ obliged by the said board of trade. It shall be
 “ laid before the council of the finances, and the
 “ court of the Millones, in order to be carried
 “ into execution.”

This provision of his majesty has so happily suc-
 ceeded, that those very manufactories encouraged
 by his gracious indulgence, and cherished by an
 easy and ready market for their commodities,
 owing as well to their goodness and reasonable
 price, as the advantageous situation of Valladolid,
 in the center of Old Castile, and some other pro-
 vinces,

vinces, have already been considerably enlarged and improved.

Though his majesty has granted several other privileges and indulgences in favour of different manufactories, I forbear to take notice of all of them here, not so much from their being so very numerous, but as they are very much alike, a repetition may seem idle ; and therefore I shall only hint at some of these, and other provisions of his majesty, directed to the same end.

In Madrid has been set up a manufacture of tissues, lutestrings, and other silks, no less curious in the workmanship than in the colours and mixtures, in imitation of the fabricks at Lyons in France ; and this new manufacture has produced such as her majesty was not ashamed to wear.

This happy and successful establishment in Spain has been owing to workmen, and a famous dyer from the said city of Lyons, procured by his majesty at the charge of his own royal revenue, and to the encouragement of a house and supplies of money, which he ordered to be advanced in the infancy of the undertaking, giving also a monthly pension of fifteen doblons to the master dyer, and another of twelve doblons to the head manufacturer.

Without the gates of Madrid has been raised also a fabrick of prime tapestry, in imitation of those of Flanders, by a master and workmen, whom his majesty procured from that country, at the charge of the treasury ; and they continue in this important manufactory working for his royal palaces, having the encouragement of houses, workshops, and indulgences, which his majesty has granted them. And notwithstanding there be not

in either of the fabricks a sufficient number of masters and workmen, for the considerable consumption of this kingdom, yet the main difficulty has been surmounted, which is settling and bringing the manufacture to the perfection already mentioned ; for it is an easy thing to enlarge, or add to, what we have begun, and already established upon a good footing. By this plain fact, in the very face of the court, many persons might be undeceived, who believe and propagate a notion (upon what grounds I know not) that in this kingdom we cannot arrive at the perfection we have seen in these and other manufactures, either on account of the delicacy of the work, as if there was neither genius to invent, nor hands to execute in Spain ; or for the colours, as if his majesty's provinces did not really supply the principal and best materials for them ; or from our water, which they suppose not proper for them, even when both the declaration of foreign artificers, and experience, shews it to be very fit for dying all sorts of colours ; and it is also certain, that notwithstanding foreigners introduced these curious fabricks, many Spaniards now join in them, and already make them in equal perfection.

The grand fabrick of fine cloths at Guadalupe is wholly owing to the vigilance and protection of his majesty, though there has not been yet in the management of it the good oeconomy, which is requisite, and has been directed by several of his majesty's orders. But one great point has been obtained, that many of the good workmen employed in these manufactories are Spaniards, and some, who have been bred up in them, have dispersed into other parts of the kingdom, which

is the principal advantage resulting from the arrival and introduction of foreign masters and workmen ; therefore no scruple ought to be made of bearing the expence of their journey, and their first settlement. And it well deserves our notice, that it has been found by experience in Guadalaxara, and other parts, that the Spanish women, and even the very young girls, spin wool better and quicker than the mistresses of foreign families that instructed them, and were brought over for that purpose.

By means of a patent and supplies from his majesty to Don Joseph de Aguada, knight of the order of Calatrava, for the fabrick of cloths in Valdemero, we have also gained the point of manufacturing them in that town, as fine as those of England, and of good colours and mixtures ; as is manifest from the approbation they have received from his majesty, who has worn them upon several occasions.

Though many chapters have been deservedly taken up with the provisions, made by his present majesty in favour of trade and the manufactories, shewing how much these two grand affairs are indebted to his great care and attention ; the instances I forbear to produce are still more ; (especially if we consider those made for the Indies) and I pass them by, both because I am not willing to launch out farther, and as I have already produced those, that more particularly relate to the point in hand, and the proposals, which will naturally rise from it. But with all these wise provisions, after so much precaution and address, this important article of trade and manufactories is so rude, that notwithstanding many abuses, which his majesty has

reformed by his prudent regulations, and the improvements he has made, there are still wanting several other prudent measures to enable us, I will not say, to raise them to perfection, but to a middling state, and such as might be reasonably expected from the situation and natural advantages of his majesty's kingdom, that so much favours commerce. This mischance has been principally owing to our not having yet entered into the new and fundamental policy, which foreigners have practised for fifty or sixty years past, in the regulation of their duties, as I hinted in the 42^d chapter. On this account I pass on to explain the very rules and precautions, which I think are still wanting, and are more just, and better calculated to obtain it, besides those which I have already proposed, while I was considering some affairs of importance, upon my having occasion to mention the practice of some of our own kings, as well as foreign princes, that the opinion, going hand in hand with the reasons upon which it is founded, may meet with a better reception.

C H A P. LXV.

Many and prevailing are the motives, that lead and oblige us to provide, and constantly keep up a powerful navy in Spain, for the support of trade, the security of the coast, and other services of his majesty.

THE means I have hitherto proposed for the improvement of trade, have been touched upon but in a slight and cursory way, as some general topicks, or a narrative of facts led me to them. But I now propose to enter into the particular

ticular provisions it behoves us to make in order to accomplish the great end. Nor will it be strange, that I recommend the building and maintaining many good ships, both for war and traffick, as the chief and main foundation of an extensive and advantageous commerce. For it is certain, this cannot be attained without the support of a considerable fleet; as it is on the other hand impossible to keep up a great fleet, such a one as the condition of this monarchy requires, and stands in need of, without the constant succour of a very extensive and advantageous commerce. So that these are two inseparable companions, and one cannot subsist without the other; and it behoves us with equal zeal and vigilance to labour at the establishment and preservation of both. Hence it is, that with great pleasure I see this important maxim, *Let the King be very well armed by sea*, generally received and approved. And though it may be contended, that this maxim is self-evident, and needs no proof, I am of opinion, that a detail of the principal motives, upon which it is founded, will very much contribute to confirm the salutary notion, both at this time and hereafter. I therefore begin with what the celebrated Don Diego de Saavedra, addressing his political and christian maxims to prince Balthasar Carlos, has delivered with great judgment, and his usual elegance, in his essay, *His polis*; in which, after telling us what gave rise to his emblem of two ships with the globe of the earth between them, and supporting it, thus proceeds:

" That they were the poles of the terrestrial globe,
 " representing to us, that navigation is the sup-
 " port of trade in every country, and secures its

“dominion by arms. Ships are moveable poles,
 “but on that very motion depends the strength of
 “kingdoms. There has scarce been a monarchy,
 “that has not owed its foundation and support to
 “them. Should Spain lose the benefit of her two
 “poles, the Mediterranean and the Ocean, her
 “grandeur must instantly sink. For provinces
 “so remote from each other would be in great
 “danger, were not the oar and the sail to unite
 “them, and facilitate the sending of succours for
 “their preservation and defence, ships and galleys
 “being the bridges of the sea. For this reason,
 “the emperor Charles V. and Don Fernando,
 “duke of Alva, advised king Philip II. to keep
 “up a large fleet. King Sisebuto was sensible of
 “its importance, and the first that had a navy on
 “the Spanish seas. It was also the remark of
 “Themistocles, by way of advice to his country-
 “men, that the Romans by this means made
 “themselves lords of the world. That element
 “surrounds and rules the earth. It is found to
 “unite strength and swiftness.

“A prince that employs them with spirit and
 “courage, is arbiter and lord of the world. Arms
 “upon land threaten, and strike in one part only;
 “but upon the sea every where. No prudence
 “can keep a coast always provided, and upon its
 “guard, no power sufficiently protect it. It is
 “the sea that humanizes nations, that would
 “otherwise be fierce and intractable, without the
 “communication of shipping, by means of which
 “nations understand each others language; and
 “antiquity hints it to us by a fable, that makes
 “the helm of the ship Argos speak, giving us to
 “understand, that by means of ships nations
 “assist,

“ assist, and have communication with each
 “ other. For it is the rudder that makes a king-
 “ dom share in the blessings and riches of all
 “ other kingdoms, one country mutually furnish-
 “ ing another with all it wants, and which ne-
 “ cessity and convenience obliges to a friendly
 “ commerce with, and a benevolence to mankind,
 “ from the want they have of each other.

“ A maritime power is more convenient to some
 “ than other kingdoms, according to their situa-
 “ tion and circumstances. The monarchies of
 “ Asia require rather land forces than a navy.
 “ Venice and Genoa, that are situated, the for-
 “ mer in the sea, the latter close to it, and rather
 “ upon a rock in the sea, than in a bay, and in a ter-
 “ ritory barren, and incapable of cultivation, place
 “ all their strength in the oar and the sail. And both
 “ republicks were glorious, and dreaded by all the
 “ world, so long as these were set a just value upon.
 “ Spain, that retires, as it were, from the Pyrenees,
 “ and launches out into the sea, between the ocean
 “ and Mediterranean, must place her confidence in
 “ a naval power, if she would aspire after univer-
 “ sal dominion, and maintain it. It is finely dis-
 “ posed, and possesses great convenience for ports
 “ to protect our own ships, and check the navi-
 “ gation of others, who are enriched by it, and
 “ gather strength enough to make war against us,
 “ especially as commerce and traffick provides
 “ arms for its own defence, bringing along with
 “ them skill in navigation. They make ports
 “ so many armouries and magazines; enrich them
 “ with all necessaries for fleets; bring wealth into
 “ a kingdom to support the charge of them, and
 “ people and multiply its numbers.

“ The

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“ The republicks of Sidon, Ninive, Babylon,
 “ Rome and Carthage, by means of commerce,
 “ abounded in wealth and armies. When trade
 “ and navigation began to droop at Venice and
 “ Genoa, all opportunities of exercising their va-
 “ lour, and of acquiring trophies of glory, were lost.
 “ In a small sandy district, incapable of cultiva-
 “ tion by the spade, or plough, Holland main-
 “ tains powerful armies, from the abundance and
 “ riches of the ocean ; and provides for populous
 “ cities so near to one another, that the most
 “ fruitful soil could not supply their wants.
 “ France possesses neither mines of gold nor silver,
 “ but with traffick and puerile toys of iron,
 “ lead and tin, makes its industry valuable, and
 “ enriches itself, while we ourselves, idle and in-
 “ active, let pass all the blessings of the sea. With
 “ immense pains and danger we fetch from the
 “ most remote parts of the world, diamonds,
 “ pearls, aromatics, and many other rich com-
 “ modities ; but as we do not afterwards carry
 “ them to market, others reap the profit of our
 “ labour, and distribute them all over Europe,
 “ Asia and Africa. We surrender up our gold
 “ and silver to the Genoese, who by it negotiate,
 “ and pay their exchange and re-exchange in
 “ traffick. Out of Spain goes silk, wool, barilla,
 “ steel, iron and several other materials, and as
 “ they return again manufactured in a variety of
 “ shapes, we purchase the same things made very
 “ chargeable by labour and carriage. So that the
 “ ingenuity of other nations is very expensive to
 “ this kingdom. Merchandise comes into Spain,
 “ that either serves merely to gratify the eye, or
 “ is instantly consumed, and drains us of our
 “ gold

“ gold and silver ; so that foreigners (as king
 “ Henry II. said) are by this means enriched and
 “ armed ; nay sometimes our enemies, as much
 “ as our own people are impoverished. The
 “ same complaint was made by the emperor
 “ Tiberius, when he saw the Roman matrons
 “ dressed out in quantities of pearls and precious
 “ stones. An immortal glory waits for your
 “ highness, if you favour and honour trade and
 “ merchandise, which is conducted by citizens in
 “ their own person, and by another hand among
 “ the nobles ; for the revenues arising from the
 “ fruits of the earth are not more natural than
 “ those from bartering one commodity for another,
 “ or sometimes giving money in exchange. The
 “ princes of Tyre did not despise trade and mer-
 “ chandise ; nor did the fleets of Solomon sent to
 “ Tarsis fetch only necessaries, but such other things
 “ as enabled him to gain and encrease his riches,
 “ and become greater than all the kings of the
 “ earth. Pompey had his money at interest.
 “ The Roman and Carthaginian nobility were
 “ not disgraced by their traffick and commerce.
 “ Rome formed her college of merchants ; and
 “ from thence, I think, the Hollanders took the
 “ hint of trading companies. With great ease
 “ may these be formed in Spain, and protected
 “ by fleets ; so that riches would not only flow
 “ into our country, but its navy also flourish, and
 “ itself become formidable to other nations. The
 “ kings of Portugal, sensible of these advantages,
 “ opened in unknown seas, and by force of arms,
 “ a trade with the East ; by commerce they sup-
 “ ported those arms, and upon the strength of
 “ both founded a new and extensive empire, and
 “ propagated

“ propagated religion. She had been unable to
 “ visit those distant climates, and afterwards the
 “ West, by the mere genius and valour of the
 “ Castilians, had not yards and sails been her
 “ wings, upon which she flew, to make herself
 “ known to the Gentiles, who were amazed at
 “ their new guests, from regions so remote, that
 “ they had not even heard of them, and receiving
 “ from them the true light of the gospel, and the
 “ divine bread of the sacrament, brought from afar
 “ off, cried out rejoicing with Isaiah, *Who hath begot-*
 “ *ten me these? I am desolate, a captive, and*
 “ *removing too and fro. And who hath brought*
 “ *up these? Behold I was left alone; these, where*
 “ *had they been?*”

These are the principal motives which the said essay suggests to us; and it would be rashness in me to attempt, or even think of adding any thing in substance, to what this great man has advanced upon this subject. I shall therefore presume no farther, than to make visible, by cloathing with something of a body, the soul of his concise and nervous writings, that by means of grosser matter presented to the eye, we may also help our conceptions in a thing, that so much concerns us, adding at the same time some short reflections, which the present state of things warrants, and even requires at our hands.

Upon a very solid foundation he said, *That no prudence can keep a coast always provided, and upon its guard; no power sufficiently protect it.* For it is certain, that as the coast of Spain extends above 300 leagues, barely from Rosellon to the streights of Gibraltar, and from thence to Ayamonte, the frontier

frontier of Portugal ; and from the other confines of Portugal on the Mino in Galicia, to Fuente-Rabia, is at least 200 leagues more, a hundred thousand men would not be sufficient to keep it always provided against debarkations, insults, and hostilities, by reason of the slowness and difficulty of sending mutual succours by land for so extensive a coast, and such distant provinces. For it usually happens, that a squadron of ships will sail more leagues in one day, than an army can march in fifteen ; besides, there would be also wanted above 30000 men for the garrisons of both frontiers, those of Africk, and the islands of the Mediterranean, &c. Nay, were it even practicable to have a constant army of 130000 men, and all our coasts and fortresses well protected by them, this would not be sufficient for our safety, without the assistance of a marine. For we could not without ships transport sufficient and seasonable succours to the garrisons of Africa, or the islands under the dominion of his majesty ; and it is very rare to find a fortress, however strong and well provided, that must not surrender to the obstinacy of a siege, or the slow fire of a blockade, if it be not succoured in due time by a force superior to the besiegers.

If then, without a fleet, notwithstanding we have an army of 130000 men, we shall still be exposed to these misfortunes, what will be the case, when we have them not ; and it is impossible for Spain in time of peace to maintain so numerous a soldiery ? It is therefore absolutely necessary, besides a land army in a reasonable proportion, that we have recourse to the sure and less chargeable expedient of a good fleet, for ; as it will render us respectable

table in the world, and be always ready to fly upon every emergency, especially if we have always 15 or 20000 men ready to embark, and be transported to any part they may be wanted, such a fleet will deter any power, that shall think of committing hostilities against us by sea. It would moreover be of vast service to us, both in a defensive and offensive land war, whenever our neighbours shall be disposed to disturb us. For in this case, they could not be furnished with supplies by sea for their operations by land, without a very powerful fleet, and this would be exposed to many accidents by sea and land, in the course of a tedious cruise; and besides, while their fleet was employed in one of the two seas, ours might be dispatched into the other, and attack them at home, on their own coast, where they should be least aware of an invasion, and oblige them to recal; and unite the main body of their forces for their own defence.

The same and awe of this very fleet, under the circumstance of a body of troops ready to embark; were they but from 12 to 15000 men, would also deter any other nation, how potent soever it might be, from molesting our flotas, galleons, and other trade, and they might then sail safe to all parts, under moderate convoys, against pirates and corsairs. As to guarding our coasts, and protecting the coasters, which must be done constantly, for fear of the pirates of Sallé, Algiers, and others from Barbary, it would be sufficient for this service to station some frigates out of the said fleet in both seas, with the galleys in the Mediterranean, in the shape that shall afterwards be proposed.

In

In order to disturb the illicit trade of other nations in our Indies, and particularly on the coast of the gulph of Mexico, and others in the northern sea, may be commissioned out of the same fleet four smaller ships of the line, and four frigates, half of them to replace the squadron, called the windward fleet, which regularly consists of two middling, and one or two small ships; and the other half for those parts, where this injurious traffick shall so prevail. These ships ought almost to be relieved from time to time by others out of the fleet, that by this means they may keep up their compliment of able-bodied sailors, as it is prudent to do. For it is well known, that by being detained some years in the seas and ports of India, the number of hands is reduced, and the rest in some measure fall off from their military spirit, being corrupted by the ease and luxury of those provinces. To these considerations we may add others, for having a considerable maritime force in Spain, that they will serve at the same time to chastise the insolence of the African corsairs at sea, or to attack them in their own country at proper times; and by this and other means we shall make prize of a sufficient number of Moors and Turks, to redeem the captive christians, and save the millions it now costs us for their redemption. Their captures will be also fewer, when we have a fleet well employed.

And also to support and facilitate any capital expedition upon the coast of Africa, in case it shall be thought proper to engage in them, at such times as we are better provided for them; for it is certain, that it would be rash and dangerous to undertake it at any time without the support of

25, or 30 good men of war, and 12 or 15 galleys, as well to secure the communication with Spain for convoys of provisions and reinforcements, as to prevent all succour by sea, not so much from an apprehension of their own maritime force in Barbary, as the great assistance they may receive from the Ottoman empire, as we have experienced on several occasions.

As also to maintain the interests of his majesty in Italy, which cannot be done with land forces; for at such times their march does not appear practicable, being to cross the Pyrenees, France, the Alps, and perhaps the Appennine; and even should it happen, what is not to be suspected, that his majesty should have just cause to employ his arms in France, 20000 men supported by a fleet, either in the ocean, or the Mediterranean, would, I am persuaded, be more serviceable, than 40000 without it.

To take also satisfaction for any injustice the maritime powers may do us; if at any time they shall presume upon it, notwithstanding we have a powerful fleet, which is seldom the case; for usually they attack only princes, that have not a sufficient maritime force, many instances of which, we read in the history of France, in the insults and depredations it experienced from the English in the times that kingdom was without a fleet; and which it was obliged to bear with, and dissemble, because it could not, for want of one, take revenge upon such affronts; inconveniencies, which other nations lying upon the sea, have also suffered for the same reason: and lastly, that his majesty may be respected, and feared by all princes, republics and states, and at the same be courted for his alliance,

alliance, friendship and protection, which will never happen by land forces alone, even when they are very numerous. For what concern can it be to the maritime powers of the North, that shall attempt to distress, and injure us in our trade, or to the princes of Italy, where the king ought to maintain his interest, or even to the Algerines, and other states of Barbary, that we have a hundred, or two hundred thousand soldiers in Spain, while we want a fleet, which is necessary, to transport the troops, and favour the operations of the campaign? But should we not be willing to engage in any considerable foreign expeditions, a maritime force would be wanted to do ourselves justice, and take satisfaction even at sea. All these motives and considerations, in my opinion, shew, that we have not hitherto observed a due proportion between our fleets and land armies, as all our provisions for both these interesting points ought to walk hand in hand; for we see many regiments, and but a few ships. As to this disproportion, and the means to regulate both these forces, they shall be treated upon in the following chapter.

C H A P. LXVI.

Of the proportion which ought to be observed between the land and sea forces; and what should be the number of each; of the royal revenue, with some considerations upon paying off the debts upon it; and for the ease of the people.

IN the foregoing chapter have been given the principal motives, and even the necessity there is, for this kingdom to be well armed by sea; and

as it is no less requisite to be so by land, it will be proper to enquire into, and determine the proportion the two powers ought to have to one another, and the whole number of each, together with the state of the funds.

In the present proportion of the land and sea forces to each other, I observe an inequality, that is, in my opinion, very injurious to his majesty's service, both of them being in extremes, and very remote from that equilibrium, which ought to be preserved. In the late reduction of the troops which our present tranquillity gave occasion to, we kept still in pay an army of 73000 men, together with the officers, both of the horse and foot, exclusive of those in half pay of both sorts, and also many of superior rank in the garisons; nor is there reckoned in this number the 3000 in five regiments of marines, even though for some years past, they have served rather by land than sea.

The above mentioned 73000 men consist of 59000 foot, (including 2000 invalids, that out of the 5000, which is the whole number of them, are capable of serving in the garisons, and actually do it) and 14000 horse and dragoons. At the same time I apprehend, that all our ships of war would not at this time make up, perhaps, a moderate squadron; a disproportion, it is manifest, that cannot fail of being very injurious to his majesty's service, and the interest of the publick; and that the overplus of the land forces, would make up in a great measure the deficiency of the marine. To preserve a due proportion between both, and such as the constitution of this monarchy demands, and is requisite to insure the great advantages already pointed out, I am of opinion, we should in
time

time of peace keep up a fleet of fifty ships of the line, from fifty to one hundred guns, including those, that are to be employed in the navigation of the Indies, and in those seas to prevent the illicit trade; and twenty frigates more, from ten, to forty guns, for services that shall hereafter be specified; in all seventy men of war.

As to galleys, I think, under the present circumstances of the monarchy, eight seem to be sufficient, or an addition of two to what we have already, with six galeots, that are of great use and service in the Mediterranean against pyrates, who with small row vessels very much infest our coasts, and the commerce from port to port. However in the spring the galeots might be prudently increased to twelve, considering the charge of the whole rises no higher than that of a seventy or eighty gun ship.

In respect to the land forces, 60000 men with the officers, will be a sufficient number; 50000 foot, (including 2000 invalids, capable of serving in the garisons) and 10000 horse, both for the continent of Spain, the islands in the Mediterranean, and the African garisons, which would be allowing a thousand foot for every ship of the line; and by this reform, would be saved the charge of 9000 foot, and 4000 horse.

Though an army of 60000 men, and a fleet of fifty ships of the line, with twenty frigates, are a very considerable force, it is to be considered, that each company of foot usually falls short forty men of its compliment, and of horse and dragoons thirty, as it is the case at this time; but upon any emergence, it will be easy in a few months to make an augmentation of 15 or 16000 men, and

incorporate them in the old regiments, under the veteran officers, as we have done upon some occasions; and it is practised by all other powers, without raising any new regiments or companies, or putting other officers in commission. With this reinforcement his majesty would have an army of 75000 men, when there should be occasion for their service in war, or upon any other emergence, and to maintain them would be practicable without prejudice to the fleet, which would be necessary at the same time. And if, after both these forces have been once settled upon this plan, and funds are appropriated for them, in a way that shall be afterwards pointed out, there should be reason to vary from it, either by increasing or reducing the numbers, as his majesty shall judge proper, this should, I think, be done in such a manner, as to preserve constantly the proportion, which his majesty has determined they shall bear to each other, that there may never happen again the extreme and injurious inequality which we now find; unless some particular circumstances require us to augment, or continue one of them more or less in number than the other. In such a case, it will always be policy to depart from an established rule, and submit to any extraordinary emergence, which makes it reasonable to do so.

The other proportion, I hinted at, is of no less importance than this, as it provides, that the land and sea forces be regularly supplied with all necessaries for their preservation, discipline and good order; a principal means to obtain success, and have his majesty well served. Hence it ought to be our first care, after the marine and land army have been properly adjusted to each other,
and

and provision made for all the other necessary demands of the state, that certain and sufficient funds be appropriated for those forces, as it is done by all princes of Europe, from the highest to the lowest. By this measure Spain will always have her armies well supplied, disciplined, and in splendor, without oppressing the subject, if due care be taken at the same time to ease the people during peace, when it may be done, and gradually discharge the debts of the treasury, which have been contracted by the extraordinary charges of war. For if the revenues be clear from any incumbrance, and the people recover themselves by the happy influences of peace, and a reduction of the taxes, the prince will have it in his power to employ the entire produce of those funds, together with new subsidies, which his people thus relieved will raise liberally, to answer the extraordinary demands of a war, in case they should be found necessary. While on the other hand, if the whole amount of the revenues be expended in the time of peace, no debts paid off, and the same heavy load of taxes, which the subject groaned under during the war, be continued, it is certain, the prince would be under an inability to support himself, should war break out afresh; and be also little respected, and less feared by other powers, as they would see him destitute of those reserves of strength, which are made by proper indulgences in times of peace, and the fresh supplies, which his subjects would have been able to raise for him, had they been favoured and relieved in due time; and rival powers will no doubt take great pleasure in seeing him imprudently squander away in time

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of peace, what ought to have been saved, as a reserve for the extraordinary exigencies of a new war.

Pursuant to this prudent maxim, I am to observe, that the proportion I recommended for the navy, neither was, nor ought to be made with an intent, that all the fifty ships of the line, and twenty frigates, be constantly in commission, and employed in peace. It is by no means natural to imagine, there would be any necessity for this constant and heavy expence; nor do other powers act so. The prudential part is to put so many of the said ships and frigates into commission, as should be necessary for the regular convoys of our flotas, galleons, and other ships in the navigation of the Indies, to relieve and keep up the windward fleet or squadron, and the other ships stationed to restrain the illicit trade upon the coasts of America, and for the protection of the coast of Spain in both seas, with the joint assistance of row vessels in the Mediterranean, and also to preserve a communication between Spain and the African garisons, and the islands, for the transport of troops, stores, provisions, and other succours.

From the general apprehension and practice of other nations, the ships most proper for this service, are from twenty to sixty guns inclusive; and I am persuaded that most part of the ships of sixty guns and under, in the supposed fleet, would be actually in service. But the rest, or those that would not be thus employed, as well of the said rates, as the larger ships from seventy guns and upwards inclusive, and the small frigates, ought to be disarmed, and laid up in ports that have a good bottom, and other circumstances favouring
their

their preservation, and where there are sufficient and distinct magazines, to receive, and deposite the artillery, carriages, wood, arms, sails, rigging, and every other thing usually taken out of the hull of ships upon such occasions, both to save the wages, provisions, and other charges unnecessary at those times, and for the better preservation of all the stores. Nor is it credible, such prudent œconomy can weaken the government, it rather confirms, and increases its power by these reserves of strength. For it is certain, that ships laid up and well preserved, with magazines ready at hand to arm, and fit them out again with all expedition upon any emergence, would strike more awe and terror into the rival powers, than if they were always in commission, and at a considerable and unnecessary expence; especially when we reflect, that by relieving the crews of those ships, employed in the vast navigation of the Indies, and other voyages abovementioned, his majesty would always have in Spain a sufficient number of skilful officers and seamen, not only to mann the ships in that repeated navigation, but also for those laid up, when it should be necessary to put them in commission; and this reserve of our maritime forces appears to me of equal importance with those I recommended for the ease of the people, and clearing the revenue of all incumbrances.

Nor would it be strange, in case any of the light frigates, settees, pinks, and other small craft of the fleet be not actually in service, either in peace or war, that his majesty should hire out some of them upon freight, in order that his subjects might fit them out as privateers, or trade with greater security, after proper inventories,

bonds, and articles are drawn, in the same manner as Lewis XIV. is well known to do with the fitters out of privateers, and which may be seen under tit. 3. lib. 22. of the ordinances of the French marine, collected together in the year 1689, where we find at large the precautions and conditions, upon which the like ships of his most christian majesty were to be put into private hands, to be made privateers. One of the conditions is, that one third part of the captures or prizes should be for the use of his royal revenue, as owner of the ship; another third part for those that should fit them out, and be at the charge of ammunition, provisions, &c. and the remaining third part to the officers, soldiers, mariners, and the rest of the ship's crew. From such a measure many considerable advantages accrued; the principal of which were, that it was a means to augment the number of seamen, and keep them employed, to distress the enemy in their trade with an advantage to his own people, and render that of his own subjects more secure, by scouring the seas, and benefit the royal revenue by a third part of the prizes for the hire of the ships, that are thus employed, and not suffered to lie useless, and rot in a harbour. It is also my opinion, that no small profit would accrue to the royal revenue by hiring to private traders some ships from fifty to sixty guns, which are from 600 to 800 tons burthen, for the trade in the flotas and galeons; for by a single voyage each ship would gain sufficient to build another of the same bulk.

I have in my eye many examples and authorities to support the prudent œconomy and regulations proposed in this chapter, especially in France, England,

England, and Holland, where at the same time, they labour to enlarge, and make their commerce flourish, and by its supplies to augment the revenue, and the number of the inhabitants ; so that if war break out afresh, they will be enabled, without ruining themselves, to repeat the vigorous efforts we have seen them make for forty years past, and which have amazed Europe.

These and many other reasons evince, that expences during peace, should be proportioned to the revenue, without abandoning also that important consideration of paying off the debts upon it, though it be by a little at a time, and as much as the indispensable demands of the government allow of, and not forgetting to afford some relief to the people, which his majesty has already done, by annihilating some, and reducing other taxes, as we have already seen in chap. 19. and who out of his great piety and inclination to do it farther, has appointed by his royal decree, a chamber of ministers out of the councils of Castile, and the finances, (a) to consider of, and suggest other ways to effect it, that are practicable, and do not interfere with other pressing demands of the state, not only as to the taxes themselves, but the form of collecting them, with due regard to the privileges granted to the peasants, and every other article that can contribute to the ease of his good subjects ; the importance of which he is pretty well convinced of, as this matter has merited the first

(a) These conferences, and the pious intentions of his majesty, occasioned the royal instruction and ordinance published March 13, 1725, which comprehends sixteen articles, all of them tending to the relief of the people, especially in those points that are treated on in this paragraph.

care of his majesty. All these things at the same time tend to the benefit of commerce, for the reasons that have been already given in other chapters.

It will be also very prudent, after having regulated and appropriated sufficient funds for the indispensable charges of the monarchy, that no addition to the troops, ships, &c. be at any time proposed, or resolved, without providing before hand, and securing a fund for the new expences, and being under a temptation to break in upon what has been appropriated to other important uses, for by this we unhinge and destroy the benefit of those already settled. This just and prudent rule is observed in all well governed kingdoms and states, that there may not happen a deficiency in any of them, which usually occasions a series of perplexities, clamours, and other evils, and is a considerable injury to the service of the prince, the troops, and all parties concerned, and often throwing things into confusion, produces very lamentable effects.

C H A P. LXVII.

The dimensions, tonnage, and number of guns of some men of war built in Spain, the Indies, France, England, and Genoa; and the rules of the Spaniards, French, English and Dutch, in regard to their sailors and marines.

IN the collection of the laws of the Indies, and some other books, there are instructions and directions for building ships; and we have plans drawn up lately by lieutenant-general Don Antonio Gastaneta, and approved by his majesty, in the
years

years 1713, and 1720. Though both these schemes met with opposition from the variety of opinions usual upon such occasions, and the disagreement between kingdoms in this article, which not only differ from one another in their rules, but even from themselves in practice, we ought to prefer the plan laid down by this general for his majesty's ships of war, both from his great experience in navigation, and his skill in naval architecture; acquired both by theory and practice; and pursue it at least till his majesty shall think proper to prescribe another: In each of these plans are expressed the particular dimensions and other circumstances; that ought to be observed in building men of war and merchant ships; however, I have determined to give the dimensions; number of guns, and men of a ship, built after the rules practiced in Cantabria, and also of some others built in France, England, Genoa, and Campeche, within the last five and twenty years; and at the same time say something of our old method of building; that as we observe the great disagreement already mentioned, by comparing our own rules with those of foreigners, we may be most likely to discover the best and safest plan. This account is taken with great care from the papers drawn up at Cadiz in the year 1718, by some officers of his majesty, of great experience in the sea service, who made a very particular survey of these and the rest of the ships and frigates of his majesty's fleet that year. The extracts which I have taken from this memorial, are as follows.

The

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The SAINT LEWIS.

Built in Cantabria in the year 1715.

A Third Rate.

	Spanish cubits.	Inches.
Length by the tread of the keel	60	$\frac{1}{2}$
Length on the gundeck	-	$70\frac{1}{2}$
Breadth on the beam	-	$18\frac{1}{4}$
Depth	-	$9\frac{1}{4}$
Main tack	-	19 2
Quarter deck	-	$17\frac{1}{4}$
Tons	832.	

	Pounders.	Guns.
The lowest tier	- 18	26
The second tier	- 12	26
The third tier	- 6	8

Total of guns 60

It is to be observed, that in manning ships of war at Cadiz, they neither observe the old customs of Spain, nor yet that of the French, English, or Dutch, and therefore I shall give each of them distinctly.

The number of hands on board the ships of the Spanish fleet in general, was after the rate of 26 sailors and 26 marines to a hundred tons. But in the Capitana and admiral's ship, after the rate of 28 of each sort to a hundred tons; and upon account of the signals a hundred hands more, viz. 50 sailors, and 50 marines, were added to the compliment of each ship, agreeable to several royal ordinances made between the year 1677, and 1682.

To

To a ship of 60 guns were allowed as many gunners, and a fourth more, making in all 75 gunners.
 There was added a fourth of this number 75, viz. 18 sea officers, which make 18 sea officers.
 There were failors equal in number to both these sums, and a fifth more, or 111 failors.
 Boys equal to a third part of the failors, or 37 boys.

Total --- 241

To these 241 mariners were added the same number of marines, 241 marines.

Both sums, in which their officers are included, make 482 hands.

The compliment of a French man of war is three men, a gunner, a marine, and a failor, to every four pounder.

To a	-	6 Pounder,	5	} men.
To an	-	8	7	
To a	-	12	9	
To an	-	18	11	
To a	-	24	13	
To a	-	36	15	

So that a ship of sixty guns, viz. the Saint Lewis, which mounted 26 eighteen pounders, 26 twelve pounders, and 8 six pounders, according to this rate, has for her compliment 560 hands.

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The English and Dutch say, they		} 500 hands.
have a man less than the		
French to every gun, so that		
their compliment of a sixty gun		
ship must be after this rate		
A Spanish ship's compliment	} 482	} hands.
for sixty guns		
French		
English and Dutch		
	560	
	500	

A distinct list of the officers, sailors, marines, &c. making up the 500 hands, which according to the custom of Spain, were allowed to a sixty gun ship, including fifteen swobbers, that were not reckoned in the 482 ; because the full compliment was shipped according to the rate of the men of war, independant of these ; there having been a reform made in respect to the number of marines, which before made up half the ship's crew, that they might be reinforced with troops in case of their making any invasion ashore ; but as engagements at sea are now decided by great guns, sailors are fittest for this service.

SUPERIOR OFFICERS.

Captain	-	1	}	5
Lieutenants-	-	2		
Ensigns	-	2		
Chaplain	-	1	}	4
Secretary	-	1		
Surgeon and Mate	-	2		

SEA OFFICERS.

Master	-	1	}	21
Pilate de Altura	-	1		
Coasting Pilot	-	1		
Pilotines	-	2		
Master's 1st and 2d Mate	-	2		
Armourers	-	2		
Carpenter and Mate	-	2		
Alguacil of water	-	1		
Diver	-	1	}	
Quarter masters.	-	8		

ARTILLERY OFFICERS.

Constable and Mate	-	2	}	7
Gunners	-	4		
Gunsmith	-	1		

MARINERS.

Quarter gunners	-	75	}	308
Sailors	-	193		
Boys	-	25		
Sweepers	-	15		

MARINES.

Cadets, or guards marines	-	8	}	155
Serjeants	-	12		
Corporals	-	15		
Marines	-	120		

Total of the ship's crew 500 men.

To

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To these 500 men are appropriated 500 ratios, or allowances per day, in consideration that 6 ratios are assigned to the captain of every large ship, and to the cadets or guards marine, during any expedition half a ratio extraordinary. So that these multiplied by 30, the number of days in a month make 15270 ratios.

The following articles make up a thousand ratios.

Biscuit	-	-	11 Quintals, 25 Pounds.
Wine	-	-	46 Arrobs, 7 Azumbres.
Bacon	-	-	1 Quintal, $9\frac{1}{2}$ Pounds.
Beef	-	-	1 Quintal, 46 Pounds.
Bacallao	-	-	86 Pounds,
Cheese	-	-	54 Pounds,
Butter	-	-	1 Quintal, 25 Pounds,
Oyl	-	-	1 Arrobo, 2 Pounds.
Vinegar	-	-	1 Arrobo, 4 Azumbres.
Wood	-	-	15 Quintals.
Water	-	-	125 Arrobs.
Salt	-	-	1 Celemin.

In the 30 ratios, or day-allowances, are included the following articles for every thousand.

White Biscuit	-	-	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pounds.
Mutton	-	-	10 Pounds.
Fowls	-	-	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Fowls.
Eggs	-	-	30 Eggs.
Raisins	-	-	3 Pound 10 Ounces.
Almonds	-	-	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pounds.
Sugar	-	-	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ Ounces.
Charcoal	=	=	15 Pounds.

The ship, NUESTRA SENORA DE BEGONA,

Built at Genoa, in the year 1703.

Fourth Rate.

		Cubits.
Length by the tread of the keel	-	63 $\frac{1}{2}$
Length on the gun deck	-	70 $\frac{1}{4}$
Breadth on the beam	-	20 $\frac{1}{4}$
Depth	-	9
Main tack	-	20
Quarter deck	-	19
Tons	905	
Men	450	

	Metal.	Guns.
Lower tier	24 Pounders	10
Ditto	12	12
Upper tier	8	22
Forecastle	6	8
Stern chase	8	2

Total of guns 54

The ship, NUESTRA SENNORA DE GUADALUPE.

Built at Campeche in the year 1702.

Fourth Rate.

		Cubits.
Length by the tread of the keel	-	55
Length on the gundeck	-	64
Breadth on the beam	-	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
Depth	-	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Main tack	-	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
Quarter deck	-	16 $\frac{1}{2}$

Tons 725

Men 358

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Lower

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	Metal.	Guns.
Lower tier	18 Pounders	22
Upper tier	8	20
Forecastle	4 and 6	8

Total of guns 50

N. B. In the memorial it is mentioned, that notwithstanding this ship was seventeen years old, it might still be fit for service twelve or fourteen years more, on account of the goodness of the timbers.

The HERMIONE Frigate.

Built at Brest in the year 1762.

Fourth Rate.

		Cubits.
Length by the tread of the keel	-	56
Length on the gun deck	-	64
Breadth on the beam	-	16
Depth	-	7
Main tack	-	16
Quarter deck	-	15½
Tons	500	
Men	300	

	Metal.	Guns.
Lower tier	8 Pounders	24
Upper tier	6	22
Forecastle	3	6

Total of guns 52

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The St. JOSEPH, Frigate.

Built in England in the year 1704:

Fifth Rate.

	Cubits.
Length by the tread of the keel	45 $\frac{1}{2}$
Length on the gun deck	52 $\frac{1}{2}$
Breadth on the beam	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
Depth	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Main tack	14
Quarter deck	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tons 338	
Men 160	

	Metal.	Guns.
Tier of guns	6 Pounders	22
Forecastle	3	4

Total of guns 26

The ship, CONDE DE TOLOSA.

Built at Toulon.

Third Rate.

	Cubits.
Length by the tread of the keel	165
Length on the gun deck	75
Breadth on the beam	20 $\frac{1}{4}$
Depth	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Main tack	19 $\frac{1}{2}$
Quarter deck	18 $\frac{1}{4}$
Tons 2750	

	Metal.	Guns.
Lower tier	18 Pounders	24
Upper tier	12	22
Forecastle	8	10

Total of guns 56

Y A H O

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ENGLISH

ENGLISH PACKET, or Advice Ship.

Built in England.

		Cubits.	Inches.
Length by the tread of the keel		24	
Length on the gun deck	-	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Breadth on the beam	-	10	
Depth	-	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Main tack	-	00	
Quarter deck	-	8	18
Tons	102		
Men	82		

Metal. Guns.
3 Pounders 10

The ship, the CONQUISTADOR.

Built in England.

Third Rate.

		Cubits.
Length by the tread of the keel	-	63
Length on the gun deck	-	73
Breadth on the beam	-	18 $\frac{1}{2}$
Depth	-	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Main tack	-	18 $\frac{1}{2}$
Quarter deck	-	17
Tons	776	
Men	530	

Metal. Guns.
18 Pounders 126
12 28
8 10

Total of guns 164

C H A P. LXVIII.

An account of the tonnage, &c. which the men of war in the royal navy of Spain are usually found to have. A list of ships contained in some Spanish, French, English and Muscovite fleets, or squadrons of war, since the year 1700. General remarks upon the practice of Holland, Sweden, Denmark and other nations.

THE foregoing chapter contains the dimensions, tonnage, number of guns, and the compliment of hands in certain ships of war, built within the last five and twenty years in Spain and other kingdoms; as also how much nations differ from one another in their rules of naval architecture. As then we find so great a disagreement in the plans, not only of different ages, but also of kingdoms from each other, I have thought it not amiss to set down some, though it be but a general account of the tonnage which the several rates of Spanish men of war have been found to have for many years past; as also the general rules that have been observed of late years by nations the most powerful and skilful at sea, as well in regard to this point, as the number and rate of ships, which their fleets or squadrons usually consist of, together with light frigates, fire ships, bomb vessels, and other small craft.

In chapter 43, I have already cited a statute of the year 1478, in which their catholick majesties were pleased to settle annual pensions upon such,

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as

as should build and employ ships from six hundred to a thousand tons. Hence we find in that distant age they set a value upon, and eagerly sought after vessels of this burthen, which now are but of a middling built, as they gave a premium to encourage the building of ships of that tonnage; but we see the state of things much changed in the beginning of the seventeenth century; for by the famous convention of November 22, 1608, between the king and the states of the kingdom, upon granting the subsidies of the Millones, and by this fund providing for a great part of the publick expences of the monarchy, it was stipulated that the 500000 ducats, appropriated to the use of the navy, should be particularly applied to the maintenance of forty ships of war, under this condition, that the largest were not to exceed five hundred tons, the middling ones four hundred, and the smallest be from two hundred and fifty to three hundred tons; and it was supposed that most of these forty ships were to be of a middling tonnage, and the complement of the whole to consist of 1600 sailors, and 3350 marines. But at this time a fleet of ships upon such a plan would be of little service, as all the powers of Europe have enlarged the built and force of their men of war. For vessels from two hundred and fifty to five hundred tons usually carry but from twenty to fifty guns, according to the practice of the French, and the rules which lieutenant general Don Antonio Gastaneta laid down in his plan for building ships from ten to eighty guns, drawn up in the year 1720.

Don

Don Joseph de Veytia, in his guide to the commerce of the Indies, lib. 2. chap. 14, observes, that in the year 1662, the tonnage of the ships, that were to be built for galeons, was determined to be from five hundred to seven hundred tons, a little more or less. In the same chapter it is also said, that an order was issued out September 19, 1616, for building by contract some galeons of five hundred tons.

That February 14, 1638, another contract was made for building twelve galeons of eight hundred tons each, in the docks of the four towns upon the sea coast, and destined for the ocean fleet, and December 15, 1639, that it was covenanted to build six galeons in the docks of Cantabria of eight hundred and fifty tons burthen. And it appears from some loose memorials, that ever since there has been but very little alteration made in the proportions or tonnage of Spanish ships for his majesty's navy, as appears from those, that for some years past have been built in Spain, the greatest part of them being sixty guns, and from eight hundred to a thousand tons. This account agrees in the main with the plan already mentioned, which Don Antonio de Gastaneta presented in the year 1713, and his majesty approved of his proposal to build ten sixty gun ships at the Havana, and to re-establish the little squadron, that usually goes under the name of the windward fleet; for their dimensions were determined to be sixty four cubits by the tread of the keel to nine hundred and sixty three tons, or sixty cubits, to eight hundred tons. And it is only in his plan of the year 1720, that the difference is somewhat more, for in this he proposed

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a scheme,

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a scheme, which his majesty approved, for building ships from eighty down to ten guns, allowing

to those of 80	} Guns	1534	} Tons.
70		1095	
60		990	
50		488	
40		410	
30		303	
20		200	
10		140	

In another chapter I shall give the best account I have been able to procure of that numerous and powerful fleet which Philip II. fitted out for the invasion of England.

To present a full view of the rules, and other informations, which I hinted at in the beginning of this chapter, respecting the proportion of artillery, sailors and marines, and the forming of fleets and squadrons of ships of war according to the modern practice of several powers, I shall here give some accounts of their maritime force, and begin with the squadron or small fleet, which his present majesty fitted out in the year 1718, for the recovery of the kingdom of Sicily.

A list of the Spanish ships of war, that failed in the year 1718, to recover the kingdom of Sicily.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
The Royal St. Philip	74	650
Prince of Asturias	70	550
St. Isabel	60	400
St. Charles	60	440
Real	60	400
The		

	Ships.	Guns.	Men.
The St. Lewis		60	400
St. Ferdinand		60	400
St. John Baptist		60	400
St. Peter		60	400
Santa Rosa		56	400
Pearl		50	300
Esperanza		46	300
St. Isidro		46	300
Hermiona		44	300
Porcupine		44	250
Surprise		44	250
Volante		44	300
Juno		36	250
Count de Tholouse		30	200
Castilla		30	200
Galera		30	200
Eagle		24	240
St. Francisco		22	100
Little St. Ferdinand		20	150
Little St. John		20	150
Tyger		20	100
Arrow		18	100
2 Fire-ships			
3 Bomb Vessels			

Total of guns 1188. Men 8130

Notwithstanding these ships from their number might deserve the name of a fleet, yet they can only be reckoned a squadron, as most of them are ships of small force, as may be seen from the list of them. Nor must we be surpris'd at their not being of higher rates or force; for a few years before finding ourselves destitute of a fleet, there

there were only ten or twelve ships built in this kingdom of sixty, seventy and eighty guns, in order to form a navy by degrees, and to convoy the flotas and galleons. And as the number was not sufficient to answer these, and other services, more especially some expeditions in the Mediterranean, which prevented our building any more, several ships and frigates were purchased from foreigners, notwithstanding some of them fell short of the contract, and had the other defects, which are generally experienced, when we have recourse to foreigners for ships of war. Every one generally keeps the best for himself, and disposes of those, that either from some mischance in building, treachery, or other accounts, are of little or no service. And though some persons are convinced, we may guard against such inconveniences by employing skilful persons to survey them before we purchase; it should be considered, that all the defects do not shew themselves in this kind of scrutiny, and it usually happens that some escape the surveyor, and are discovered or experienced some time after in the severe trials of the sea. It is moreover certain, that ships of the same built, rigging and dimensions, will often turn out differently; one will sail well, another very ill; and there are other defects that are not to be discovered in port, and often not at sea, unless it be in a long navigation, when they come to feel the stress of hard gales of wind from every point of the compass. Therefore the owners of ships of war and merchant men, who on these occasions come to a true knowledge of the perfections, or defects of every one of their ships, usually lay out for,

and embrace all opportunities of getting rid of those that are found unfit for service, either by selling or bartering them; and it must be presumed, that one power is seldom, if ever, inclined to sell another, or even a private trader, his good ships, it is manifestly very much for our interest on all accounts to encourage and secure the building of a sufficient number of ships in our own docks, and to work up the good materials which Spain abounds with,

A list of the French fleet, which under the command of the admiral and Count de Tholouse gained a victory over the united fleets of England and Holland in the year 1704.

Vanguard, or white and blue division.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
L' Eclatant	66	400
L' Isle	62	380
St. Philip, V. A.	90	700
L' Heureux	70	450
Le Rubin	56	330
L' Arrogant	62	350
Le Marquis	60	350
Le Content	70	450
Le Fier, V. A.	88	800
L' Intrepide	84	600
L' Excellent	62	350
Le Sage	54	330
L' Ecueil	62	380
Le Magnifique, R. A.	86	630
Le Monarque	84	600
La Perle	54	300

Center,

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Center, or white division.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
Le Furieux	60	350
Le Vermandois	64	350
Le Lis	88	660
L' Etonnant, V. A.	90	700
L' Orgueilleux	88	660
L' Esperance	50	300
Le Serieux	58	380
Le Fleuron	56	350
Le Vainqueur	88	660
Le Foudroyant, Adm.	104	950
Le Terrible	104	900
L' Entreprenant	60	350
La Fortune	58	350
Le Parfait	74	470
Le Magnanime, R. A.	84	630
Le Sceptre	88	660
Le Fendant	58	350

Rear, or blue division.

La Zelande	60	350
Le St. Louis	60	380
L' Admirable, R. A.	92	675
La Couronne	88	660
Le Cheval marin	50	300
Le Diamant	58	350
Le Gaillard	54	330
L' Invincible	70	450
Le Soliel royal, V. A.	102	850
L' Ardent	66	400
Le Trident	56	350
Le Coureur	60	380
Le More	52	330

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Ships.	Guns.	Men.
Le Tholouse	60	380
La Triumphante, V. A.	92	750
Le St. Esprit	72	490
Le Henri	66	400

Frigates.

L' Etoile	30	190
L' Hercule	30	170
L' Andromede	20	85
La Diligence	6	60
La Meduse	28	150
L' Oiseau	36	180
La Galatie	24	120
La Sibylle	10	70
L' Enflammé	6	40
Le Dangereux	6	50
La Turquoise	8	45
Le Croissant	12	50
Le Bien-venu	8	60
L' Aigle volante	6	35
L' Esther	6	35
Le Voleur	10	45
Le Lion	8	50

Total of guns 3794 Men 25730

Besides some small craft for the use and service of the fleet.

A list

A list of the united fleets of England and Holland, which in the year 1704 engaged with that of France in the Mediterranean.

Dutch Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Division.
The Reygersberg	72	430	Vice Admiral.
Verce	60	350	
Elfurout	72	430	
Union	92	650	
Stadt-Muyden	72	430	
Overyffel	52	300	
Zurick Zee	64	350	
Walcheren	70	400	Admiral.
Emelia	64	350	
Divenfer	72	430	
Vryheydt	94	700	
Biscaino	92	650	
Alemaer	72	430	
Princess Emelia	52	300	
Seven States	72	450	Rear Admiral
Vluffing	54	320	
Rotterdam	72	430	
Seven Provinces	92	650	
Guederland	60	350	
Holland	72	430	

English Ships.

The Yarmouth	70	440	Vice Admiral of the blue.
Hampton Court	70	440	
Prince George	96	680	
Shrewsbury	80	520	
Leopard	50	280	
Bedford	70	440	

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Ships.		Guns.	Men.	Division.
The	Barfleur	96	680	Admiral.
	Britannia	100	780	
	Namur	86	680	
	Orford	70	440	
	Pembroke	86	365	
	Lenox	70	440	
	Kent	70	440	
	Antelope	50	280	
	Affurance	66	365	
	Swallow	80	280	
	Effex	70	440	Rear Admiral of the red.
	Berwick	70	440	
	Canterbury	60	365	
	Ratelaph	80	520	
	Eagle	70	440	
	Association	96	680	
	Cambridge	80	500	
	Panther	50	280	
	Revenge	70	440	
	Grafton	70	440	
	Newcastle	50	280	Vice Admiral of the red.
	Warspight	70	440	
	Nottingham	60	365	
	Rupert	70	440	
	Burford	70	440	
	Glocester	60	365	
	Torbay	80	500	
	Royal Sovereign	100	780	
	Devonshire	80	520	
	Tyger	50	280	
	Edgar	70	440	
	Swift-sure	70	440	

The

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Ships.		Guns,	Men.	Division.
The	Befchaller	36	160	Dutch frigate.
	Swallow	32	160	English Frigates.
	Garland	40	180	
	Roebuck	40	180	
	Tartar	32	160	
	Charles galley	32	160	
	Faulcon	32	160	
	Flamborough	24	120	
	Lark	40	180	
	Swift	10	60	
	Elizabeth	10	60	

Number of guns 4460 27805 Men.

Salamander } Dutch Fire-ships.
Dayberg }

Vultur }
Firebrand }
Vulcan } English Fire-ships.
Phenix }
Hunter }
Griffin }
Lightening }

Divins landt } Dutch Bomb-vessels.
Salamander }

Carcass }
Terror } English Bomb-vessels.
Comet }
Basilisk }
Star }

Burg

Ships.	Division.
The Burg Malvins	} Dutch Hospital Ships:
The Jefferies Princess Anne Mather Geoffry Smyrna	} English hospital Ships.

Notwithstanding these two fleets consisted of 58 ships of the line, and eleven frigates, in all 69 ships of war; while that of France was but 58 ships, including eight frigates, they were beaten and dispersed by the French, after an engagement of several hours off Malaga, in the above year 1704, insomuch that they suffered no less than they had done in 1690, when the English and Dutch fleets united, were also defeated by that of the French, many of their ships being sunk, and others taken. Though the Hollanders employed the greatest part of their large ships in this fleet, or squadron, there were but four of them that exceeded 72 guns, and none above 94, which shews their ships of war not to be in the general, of so large a built and force, as those of the French and English; which powers, during the reign of Lewis XIV. not only rivalled each other in the rates and force of their men of war, but in these respects exceeded other nations; as we are sensible that the ships of war in Sweden, Denmark, Muscovy, Venice, and the Ottoman empire, are inferior even to the Dutch, at least, according to the plan which these powers for 30 years past have laid down and pursued.

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The Russia fleet, which that prince fitted out in
July, 1718.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	
The Arundel	48	326	Vanguard.
Marlborough	64	462	
Egodiel	52	323	
Ingermerland	64	466	
Revel	68	536	
Riga	48	331	
London	58	335	
Randolph	50	294	
The St. Michael	52	337	Center.
Sleitenberg	62	462	
Gabriel	52	336	
Moscow	64	461	
Firme	64	518	
Devonshire	52	334	
Warachiel	52	335	
Oriel	52	351	
The Pearl	50	329	Rear.
Salairiel	52	339	
Portsmouth	52	334	
St. Alexander	70	540	
St. Cataline	62	456	
Raphael	52	334	
Britain	48	326	
The Sanfon	32	198	Frigates.
Lansdown	24	179	
Alexander	24	182	
Elias	32	184	
St. James	12	90	

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Ships.	Guns.	Men.	
The Diana	18	88	F. Ships.
Natalia	18	80	
Cruys	6	48	
The Jupiter	8	47	B. V.
Thunder	8	42	
Total 1470 guns		10003 men.	

C H A P. LXIX.

Memoirs taken from historians of great credit, and from publick instruments preserved at Madrid, in regard to the grand armada, or fleet, which Spain fitted out in the reign of Philip II. for the invasion of England.

I Was very desirous of adding to the last chapter, an accurate list of the numerous, and strong fleet, which, by the direction and orders of Philip II. was fitted out in the ports of Spain, and on May 19, 1588, set sail from Lisbon, to invade England. But all my diligence has been insufficient to procure a particular account of the burthen, ordnance, and compliment of the several ships of war it consisted of. Thus I can only offer some accounts in the general, drawn from historians of the best character, and which may, perhaps, enable us to form a tolerable judgment of the quality and strength of a naval armament that so much alarmed Europe, but was quite unsuccessful, on account of the repeated storms it suffered, and which are more fatal in those, than any other seas, on account of the many sands, narrow

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channels, or bays on the coast of England and Scotland, whither it sailed, and was almost continually at war with the four elements, as we are assured both by Spanish and foreign writers.

Famian D'Estrade, who with great judgment has wrote a history of the wars of Flanders, tells us, in the ninth book of his second decad, there were in this naval armament two sorts of ships, that raised admiration, because they were larger than had hitherto been seen of the kind; the one was called a galeass, and navigated both with sails and oars, but was a third broader and longer than the rest of the galleys. These vessels had both artillery and small arms planted in the forecastle and stern, besides many guns on each side of the deck, interspersed between every bank of oars, which were farther distant from each other than they usually are in other galleys; so that they could fire equally from every part.

The other sort of vessels was called galeons, because they were built square like ships, and long as the gallies, but in bulk exceeded both. For a more distinct knowledge of this fleet, I refer to the account which was transmitted the same year to the duke of Parma, then governor and captain-general of Flanders. The most material clauses in it are these;

“ This naval armament consists of 135 large
“ ships, including as well the gallies and galeasses,
“ as the square built ships of the usual burthen,
“ and galeons, four of which are larger than the
“ rest. It comprehends also 40 smaller vessels,
“ for the most part transports and storeships. On
“ board this fleet are five regiments, containing

“ 18857

“ 18857 foldiers, together with 7449 failors and
“ other fea-faring people, 220 Spanifh nobility,
“ 350 volunteers and their fervants, and 620 ec-
“ clefiafticks, &c. for the care of the fick, and
“ other offices, the whole number of people on
“ board this fleet amounting to 28293 men.”

The author adds, that notwithstanding there be no mention of the ordnance and other military ftores, fome perfons affure us, that they have feen another account at Madrid, fetting forth, that this fleet carried over and above what was neceffary for the compliment of the fhips, and thofe that were to make a defcent upon England, fire-arms, and ammunition, to fupply many of the natives of England; and that befides what were on board the fleet, the duke of Parma had 26000 foot, and 1000 horfe in Flanders, with tranfports ready to embark for England. In the memoirs of this expedition it is remarked, that as the Spanifh fhips were larger and heavier than the Englifh, the latter had in fome refpects an advantage over them, amidft the fand banks, which their fhips freely paffed over, and other accidents, that were no obfttruction to them, on account of their drawing lefs water, and their knowledge of the navigation of the coaft; but were fo many additional perplexities and dangers to the large veffels of our fleet, efpecially as our pilots had not the fame fkill as theirs in thefe cafes; and which in my apprehenfion, is only to be acquired by a conftant navigation on the very coaft, in the bays, and the mouth of rivers. This is a piece of knowledge navigators of fhips are ufually unacquainted with, let them be dexterous and fkilful, as thofe of our fleet cer-

tainly were. Nor is this information to be attained by maps or charts, especially in respect to sands, that usually shift by the force of high seas, tides, or other accidents. On these considerations it is convenient and necessary, whenever it can be attained, to add to the sea pilots those which are usually called coasting pilots, who understand the ports, bars, mouths of rivers, and other narrow channels which a fleet must pass through; a kind of knowledge that is to be acquired by experience alone, and without the aid of mathematicks, or the use of those instruments, that are necessary at sea. These reflections I have been thrown into by the sorrowful recollection of the terrible havock which the Spanish fleet suffered in those parts for want of good coasting pilots, though it had on board very able sea-officers. But the great loss of the marquiss of Santa Cruz was not to be repaired; for this nobleman, who had been appointed commander in chief for this expedition, died a few months before it could set sail from Lisbon. An event that gave the utmost concern to every body, as in this great undertaking there was need of that experience, skill and courage, which even foreign historians allow him the merit of.

Doctor Lewis of Babia, in the third part of his papal and catholick history, published in 1604, seventeen years after this unfortunate expedition against England, observes in the chapters 53, and 54, of the life of Sixtus V. that the Spanish fleet carried 20000 soldiers, 9000 sailors, 2730 pieces of cannon, with a quantity of ammunition, provision, &c. in proportion to their numbers, as also a large number of small arms, with ammunition for many of the natives in England.

This

This author asserts too, that the English fleet amounted to a hundred ships, that were lighter and easier managed than those of Spain.

Antonio de Herrera, his majesty's historian in ordinary for the Indies, and Castile, in his annals of 1608, says, lib. 4. chap. 2d. and 4th of the third part of his general history of the world, that this fleet consisted of 130 sail, including galeons, ships, galeasses, galleys, hulks, caravals, patages, and pinnaces; that the first Squadron, on board of which was the duke of Medina-Sidonia, captain-general, was that of Portugal, and consisted of 10 galeons and two zabras. The second was that of Castile, commanded by general Diego Flores de Valdes, and consisted of 14 galeons and ships, and two patages. The third was the Squadron of Andalusia, containing 10 galeons and ships, under the command of general Don Pedro de Valdes. The fourth Squadron was that of Biscay, which was commanded by general Juan Martinez de Recalde, admiral of the fleet, and consisted of 10 ships and galeons, and 4 patages. The fifth was that of the province of Guipuzcoa, under general Miguel de Oquendo, and comprehended 10 galeons, 2 patages, and 2 pinnaces. The sixth was that of Italy, under the command of Martin de Bertendona, consisting of ten ships. The seventh Squadron contained 23 hulks, and storeships for the use of the fleet, and was commanded by general John Gomez de Medina. The eighth consisted of 22 patages, caravals and zabras, under general Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza. And the ninth Squadron was made up of the four galeasses, which the viceroy of Naples, count Miranda, caused to be built there, and was under the command of Don Hugo

de Moncada ; and four galleys were under captain Don Diego de Medrana. He adds, that on board this fleet, embarked the following regiments.

The regiment of Sicily, under the command of colonel Don Diego Pimentel, a major, and 25 captains.

That of Naples, under colonel Don Alonso de Luna, a serjeant-major, and 25 captains.

That of the Indies, under colonel Nicholas de Isla, with a serjeant-major, and 23 captains.

That of Entre Duro and Mino, its colonel Don Francisco de Toledo, with a serjeant-major, and 25 captains.

That of Andalusia, whose colonel was Don Agustín Mexia, with a serjeant-major, and 24 captains.

Thirty-nine single companies, that were raised in Old Castile.

A regiment of Portuguese foot, under the command of Gaspar de Sosa, a serjeant-major, and 5 captains.

Another Portuguese regiment, commanded by Antonio de Pereira, with a serjeant-major and 5 captains.

Besides these, were several knights and captains volunteers ; and many lords adventurers, gentlemen, captains and ensigns. Alonzo de Cespedes, lieutenant to the captain general of the ordnance, with 20 comptrollers, a major, and his lieutenant, 150 gunners of the train of artillery, 100 mule-drivers for the ordnance, and 74 matrosses ; and besides these, there were 19295 soldiers. The sailors were 8252, and the galley slaves 2808.

The king having also resolved, that the duke of Parma should invade England at the same time, ordered

ordered him to provide for this service, a hundred vessels called huoyes, which are less than the barges of Marseilles, to transport the soldiers. With this view the canals were widened from the city of Ypres, that they might be brought down from thence to Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, together with 70 flat-bottomed vessels, capable of carrying 30 horses. That besides these there were to be fitted out at Dunkirk and Newport 28 men of war, though there was some difficulty in procuring safe hands to mann them. That there be provided thick pieces of timber, sharpened and shod with iron, to serve for palisades to fortify the army in the camp, and raise other works; and a great number of hogsheds for bridges to pass rivers; a large quantity of fascines, &c. to raise batteries; and lastly, arms of all kinds, saddles, and bridles, ovens to bake bread, and many other things.

Monfieur de Larrey, in his general history of England, which was published in the year 1698, says also, that the English fleet consisted of a hundred ships of war, besides many others, which the rebel provinces of the Low Countries supplied England with against Spain. That this fleet consisted of 135 ships, including 4 galleys, each of which carried 1200 marines, and 460 sailors; that the galeon, called the Sevil, was manned with 460 hands; and that besides these 135 ships of war, there were many transports.

C H A P. LXX.

What ought to be the rates of the several ships of the line, and frigates of a fleet, proper for the service of the kingdom of Spain; as also their several compliments, and ordnance. Ships proper to be employed in the American trade, and for guarda-costas in those parts.

THE two last chapters contain some accounts that are particular, and others general, in respect to the dimensions, ordnance, and number of hands of the ships of war belonging to the principal powers of Europe; and also what proportion there is of the several rates in their respective fleets. This information may be very useful to determine the dimensions, ordnance and number of hands which his majesty's ships of war ought to have. Therefore we are principally, I think, to have our eye upon the practice of the maritime powers that are nearest to us, and have most connection with his majesty's dominions, or who frequently visit our seas and trade with us; such as France, England, and Holland. For though his majesty may have an interest to pursue in Italy, it is well known, there is no principality, or reppblick, that has a maritime force able to face a middling Spanish fleet, even when there are no large ships in it. The case is the same in respect to the Algerines, and other states of Barbary, whose shipping is far inferior in quality and number. It is therefore my opinion, that in determining the rates of his majesty's ships, we are principally to regard the practice of France, England,

land, and Holland, for the reasons already given, and others, that oblige still more. But then we are to imitate them only in those circumstances, where there is no considerable obstruction or inconvenience in the practice.

By the list of the French fleet, we find it consisted of 50 ships of the line, viz.

- 20 from 50 to 60 guns inclusive
- 11 from 60 exclusive, to 70 guns inclusive.
- 2 from 70 exclusive, to 80 guns inclusive.
- 12 from 80 exclusive, to 90 guns inclusive.
- 2 from 90 exclusive, to 100 guns inclusive.
- 1 of 102 guns.
- 2 of 104 guns.

Tot. 50 ships of war.

Besides eight frigates from 10 to 36 guns, making in all 58 men of war, exclusive of fire ships, which are 9, from 6 to 12 guns.

The English fleet, of which I have already given a list, consisted of 38 ships of the line, being,

2 of	100	} guns.
4 of	96	
5 of	80	
16 of	70	
1 of	66	
4 of	60	
6 of	50	

Besides ten frigates, from 40 to 10 guns, the fire ships, bomb vessels, and hospital ships, which have been already mentioned.

The

The Dutch fleet, that was united with the English, consisted of 20 ships of the line, viz.

1 of	94	} guns.
3 of	92	
8 of	72	
1 of	70	
2 of	64	
2 of	60	
1 of	54	
2 of	52	

Besides one frigate, the fireships, bomb vessels, and hospital ships set down in the list.

Though the French fleet contains several ships that exceed 80 guns, and it is also known, that in the vast navy of England there are also several ships of war from 90 to 100 guns, besides the 6 that were in the fleet of 1704, it is allowed, as it were, by all people of experience in maritime affairs, that these are not of service in proportion to their charge, magnitude, and number of hands, from the difficulty there is in managing them, the great danger they run in going in and out of ports, and upon the coasts, and from other inconveniencies. Ships of this vast bulk and number of guns were usually built in times, when money has been very plentiful, and served rather for ostentation than use in expeditions at sea. I think, if we imitate France, England, and Holland, only so far, as shall appear more natural, and suited to our present constitution, the main strength of a Spanish navy ought to consist of ships of war from 50 to 80 guns inclusive, allowing only one of 100 guns for the Capitana, one of 90 for the Almiranta,

miranta, according to our antient stile, which does not seem to have been departed from in this point; and another also of 90 guns for the second Almiranta, under the name of the Gobierno. So that their being thus distinguished by ships of a larger built, number of hands and guns, may represent the superior authority of the three chiefs that command the fleet, consisting of these three divisions, the vanguard, center and rear, according to a distinction that is usually made; as we know the principal officers of the French fleet to be generally an admiral, and two vice-admirals, one for the eastern, the other for the western division, under whose command are the lieutenant-generals and chiefs of the squadron. And in the fleets of other powers the principal officers are an admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral.

The grand dignity of admiral of the sea, an office first created by Ferdinand the pious, upon account of the situation of Sevil, has ceased in Spain for many years; and the commanding officer of the king's fleets has ever since obtained only the rank of captain-general, which seems to be the reason that the first ship of the fleet, on board which he hoists his flag, was called the Capitana, as in other countries, it is usually called the admiral.

There has been no small deviation from the ancient degrees of authority in the Spanish fleet, especially as to the titles of admirals-general, admirals-royal, generals of the squadron, whose office and power fell very far short of the sound of their titles, as I have understood from the limited authority they bore in the fleet. But I shall not detain the reader with particulars in this instance,

both

both because I have heard people talk very confusedly on this head, and I do not think it at all necessary, since the new regulation has taken place in the navy. For his majesty has been pleased to create lieutenant-generals to take equal rank with lieutenant-generals in the army; chiefs of the squadron equal in rank with major-generals; and captains of ships to rank with colonels; degrees and honours that seem very natural and becoming an officer, who is intrusted with the important command of a ship of war, that is armed and fitted out, as it were, with artillery, men, and ammunition equal to a garison. Upon this very account it seemed inconsistent, and not a little detrimental to his majesty's service, that one of these ships should be commanded by an officer, who held no higher rank than a captain of foot, and whose pay was no more, as it was formerly the case in most part of the said ships.

In the 66th chapter, speaking of the proportion which the army and the navy ought to bear to each other, I said, that the latter should consist of 50 ships of the line, from 50 to 100 guns; together with 20 frigates. I apprehend it also highly proper, if we will copy after those powers, with whom we are more intimately connected, that two fifths of the ships of the line, or 20 of them, be from 70 guns and upwards; having eight of them 70 guns, nine 80 guns, and the other three 100 or 90 guns, as I before proposed, for the Capitana and Almirantas.

The remaining 30 ships may consist of ten of 50 guns, ten of 54, and ten of 60 guns, of which rates I have thought proper to recommend a larger number, that by our having in the navy a great many ships of this rate and force, we may detach,

or set apart twelve of them, as well to convoy our flotas and galeons, as to disturb the illicite commerce of the Indies, by adding to them eight of the twenty frigates, that they may serve as tenders to the said fleets, and to cruize in small squadrons, which are to be stationed so, as to prevent the said illicite commerce ; for persons of experience are sensible how useful these light ships are, both for lying off capes, and looking into gulphs, bays, and other places ; as also to distribute orders, to carry packets, and other commissions ; being sensible, that the ships which I have set down as most fit for the protection or charge of the flotas and galeons, and other employments in the Indies, are middling ones of 50, 54, or 60 guns, for reasons that shall be assigned in another place.

Suppose there be detached out of the fifty ships of the line, twelve, and out of the twenty frigates, eight, for the navigation of the Indies, and the protection of those coasts ; and though these twenty ships, large as well as small, should be relieved alternately in the voyages by others, there will be constantly employed in the commerce and protection of those seas, the same number of twenty, more or less, just as occurrences, and the accidents of times make necessary, and then will remain a settled and constant fleet in Spain, consisting of 38 ships of the line, and 12 frigates ; and in these 38 ships of the line are included 20, that have been determined to be from 70 to 100 guns, and the other 18 may be four of 60 guns, seven of 54, and seven of 50 guns, besides the twelve frigates, which may be four of 40 guns, four of 20, and four of 10 guns, making in the whole fifty men of war, which seem to be a sufficient force, when we are not at war with very great maritime powers ;
and

and if it be the case, it will be, and has been often found necessary, and usual to augment our forces both by sea and land, since the enemy may attack his majesty both ways. Hence it is difficult at this time to determine upon any precise augmentation; but a provision, which is at all times very prudent, may be employed usefully, and we have the means of doing it, viz. that the king's yards be protected from the insult of enemies, and the magazines be well provided with all sorts of timbers, such as keels, keelsons, transoms, sternposts, yokes, futtocks, knees, mainstems, floor-timbers, cutwaters, crooked timbers of all shapes and curves, beams, ribs, planking of all thicknesses, rudders and tillars, pumps, carved work, and all other lesser timbers, masting for the principal booms, yards and masts; as also artillery, arms, ball, and other ammunition; and nails, bolts, rigging, and stores of every kind, that when the time comes, that we may probably want them, both ships of the line and frigates may be speedily built and fitted out to augment the navy, besides what shall be necessary as supplies for the constant wants and consumption of the shipping; as we are to suppose the stores, which are to be laid up in magazines, to be such as can be kept many years in good storehouses without receiving any damage, if due care be taken, and consideration had of the masting and other timbers, which are best preserved in salt-water.

Of the remaining twelve ships of the line, and eight frigates, eight of them, that is, four of 60 guns, two of 54, and two of 50, together with a frigate of 40 guns, two of 20, and one of 10 guns, may be commissioned for convoys to the flotas, galleons, and azogue ships, and two men
of

of war of 60 guns, one of 54, and another of 50 guns, a frigate of 40, two of 20, and one of 10 guns; replace the windward squadron, and protect the coasts of Spanish America.

I should not have presumed to have mentioned this reform of the navy, were I not supported by the practice of great princes, and well governed states: And though my remarks in this important affair should not deserve attention, the light I have given into the conduct of the most considerable maritime powers of Europe, and other parts of the world, some of them particularly, and others in a general way, may have its use; as by means of this knowledge we may better dispose all our own measures, that tend to revive and preserve his majesty's naval armaments; however, if the number and rates of the men of war, which I recommend for a Spanish navy, should merit any consideration, I have thought proper to give farther particulars, setting forth the proportions of their respective forces:

The number, artillery, and compliment of hands for the several ships of the line and frigates, which his majesty's navy should consist of, in case the plan proposed meets with approbation; the number of sailors and marines to each ship being conformable to the regular practice of the French.

Names of ships.	guns.	men accord.	
		to the French	to the English.
N. - 100	-	800	- 780 - Capitana.
N. - 90	-	700	- 680 - Almiranta.
N. - 90	-	700	- 680 - Gobierno.
N. - 80	-	550	- 520

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Names of ships.	guns.	men accord. to the French.	men accord. to the English
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N.	-	80	-	550
N.	-	80	-	550
N.	-	80	-	550
N.	-	80	-	550
N.	-	80	-	550
N.	-	80	-	550
N.	-	80	-	550
N.	-	80	-	550
N.	-	70	-	450
N.	-	70	-	450
N.	-	70	-	450
N.	-	70	-	450
N.	-	70	-	450
N.	-	70	-	450
N.	-	70	-	450
N.	-	70	-	450
N.	-	60	-	380
N.	-	60	-	380
N.	-	60	-	380
N.	-	60	-	380
N.	-	60	-	380
N.	-	60	-	380
N.	-	60	-	380
N.	-	60	-	380
N.	-	60	-	380
N.	-	60	-	380
N.	-	60	-	380
N.	-	54	-	330
N.	-	54	-	330
N.	-	54	-	330
N.	-	54	-	330
N.	-	54	-	330
N.	-	54	-	330

440

365

Names

of COMMERCE, &c.

403

Names of ships.	guns.	men accord. to the French.	men accord. to the English
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N.	-	54	-	330	
N.	-	54	-	330	
N.	-	54	-	330	
N.	-	54	-	330	
N.	-	50	-	300	280
N.	-	50	-	300	
N.	-	50	-	300	
N.	-	50	-	300	
N.	-	50	-	300	
N.	-	50	-	300	
N.	-	50	-	300	
N.	-	50	-	300	
N.	-	50	-	300	
N.	-	50	-	300	

FRIGATES.

N.	-	40	-	200	190
N.	-	40	-	200	
N.	-	40	-	200	
N.	-	40	-	200	
N.	-	40	-	200	
N.	-	40	-	200	
N.	-	20	-	85	80
N.	-	20	-	85	
N.	-	20	-	85	
N.	-	20	-	85	
N.	-	20	-	85	
N.	-	20	-	85	
N.	-	20	-	85	
N.	-	20	-	85	

D d 2

Names

Names of ships.	guns.	men accord. to the French.	men accord. to the English.
N. - 10	-	70	60
N. - 10	-	70	
N. - 10	-	70	
N. - 10	-	70	
N. - 10	-	70	
N. - 10	-	70	
<hr/>		<hr/>	
tot. 70.		3660 guns.	23150 men.

The quantity of metal, which each man of war was to carry, and the distinct offices and employments of the sailors and marines, the ship's crews, and the distribution of the hands on board a French fleet, are all distinctly set forth in the ordinances of their marine; and the abovementioned plans of Don Antonio de Gaetaneta give us also the quantity of metal for each tier of guns, at least for some of the men of war; but I have thought it best to omit the particulars, both to avoid being tedious in this narrative, and because every person may easily procure what information he shall want, or desire for the gratification of his curiosity.

C H A P. LXXI.

Ways and means to raise a fund for the maintenance of a fleet of fifty ships of the line, from 50 to 100 guns, and 20 frigates.

THE reasons have been already given why Spain stands in need of a powerful navy; and I have also determined what proportion our fleet ought to bear to the land forces, the number, rates,

rates, artillery, and compliment of hands of each ship it is to consist of, and some other particulars contained in the foregoing chapters. But all that has been said on this subject would turn to little account, if, at the same time, just and practicable ways and means were not suggested to render effectual this interesting plan, which cannot be strange, or a novelty in Spain. For this maxim, that we be very strong, and well armed by sea, is what the very laws of our monarchs give in charge, all our eminent politicians advise, the tribunals and other ministers of his majesty recommend, and the very populace call out for. The main difficulty is how to provide a fund sufficient to bear the expence of it, without farther involving the revenue, or distressing the subjects of his majesty; and afterwards to conduct it with all that prudent œconomy, and good conduct, which is requisite, if we would not be disappointed of the fruits of it by unnecessary expences, and squandering away the publick money. I am aware of the difficulties in this undertaking, but as I have insensibly advanced from chapter to chapter, to the grand point of ways and means to carry this proposal into execution, I should certainly fail in my duty, if in a case, that may more especially affect the service of his majesty, and the success of our trade, I should fall off, and suffer my zeal to grow cool, and abandon an interest the most important, and worthy of our first attention. I shall therefore propose such measures, as in my narrow apprehension will succeed, always careful to avoid the two inconveniencies, I have intimated, and not so eagerly pursue this advantage, as to neglect other things, that are no less interesting; and it will

yield me great satisfaction to find other persons of deeper penetration than I can pretend to, suggesting measures equally salutary, and effectual for augmenting the fleet even to a hundred men of war; as his majesty would then be better served, and the general good of his subjects more secure; two things, that are inseparable, and which this whole treatise is calculated to promote, and in the case before us depends alone upon a due equilibrium, good œconomy, and other dispositions of true policy and justice, which oblige us also to a reform of abuses, that have crept into the publick affairs.

By a calculation of one of his majesty's ministers, who is well acquainted with the transactions of the navy, and the commerce of the Indies, from an application and experience of many years, it appears, that the fitting out and maintenance of a sixty gun ship, for six months, either upon an expedition or a voyage, will amount to 69,000 crowns vellon, including the charge of careening, and all the other articles of this estimate, a copy of which I shall insert in this chapter, to give a clearer conception of the thing; and if we add 15,000 crowns for the pay of the officers and others, that cannot be discharged from the service, even though the ship be laid up for the other six months of the year, the charge of the whole year will then amount to 84,000 crowns. But in consideration, that this estimate was made for a sixty gun ship, and forty of the seventy men of war that were proposed for the Spanish navy, and the India trade, are not so large and expensive, including the frigates; and there are not above twenty of them that exceed the rate and force of sixty guns,

guns, I think the charge of each of the seventy men of war may be estimated at 70,000 crowns, one year with another.

Upon this supposition all the seventy ships would be an annual charge to the government of 4,900,000 crowns vellon, that is, in case all of them should be in commission, and either go a long voyage, or upon some expedition every year, a circumstance that seldom or ever happens even in war time; and as I find that two millions of crowns have been demanded, and appropriated this present year 1724, to the use of the navy, including a fund of 260,000 crowns for the support of the galleys; after this deduction there will remain the amount of 1,740,000 crowns, to be applied to the charge of the shipping, which sum we may reckon upon, as a fund already established, and appropriated to the service of the navy. As then the seventy ships of war will be an expence of 4,900,000 crowns, this amount exceeds the present navy revenue, exclusive of the galleys, the sum of 3,160,000, for which additional charge it is incumbent upon me to provide a sufficient fund, without distressing the subject, or farther involving the revenue.

The better to explain myself on this head, I have thought proper to distribute it into two parts; one of them is the annual charge of, and a fund for thirty eight ships of the line and twelve frigates, designed to be a standing fleet, which is to be in the ports or seas of Spain; the other, the charge of, and a fund for the twelve ships of the line, and eight frigates, that are to be employed in the India trade, and on its coasts, upon the views already mentioned.

The navy of Spain being to consist of thirty eight ships, from fifty to a hundred guns, and twelve frigates, from ten to forty guns, according to the above calculation, it demands a fund of 3,500,000 crowns vellon yearly, for the discharge of it; and as there is already appropriated to the use of the navy a fund of 1,740,000 crowns, there will be still wanting a fund of 1,760,000 crowns, to answer the charge of the said fifty ships.

In the 66th chapter, I gave reasons, that appeared to me solid and convincing, to shew that there should be a due proportion kept between the naval and land forces; shewing at the same time, that when we have a fleet, an army of 60,000 men, including 10,000 horse, would be sufficient. And if this reform be approved, we shall then find a saving of the charge of 9000 foot and 4000 horse.

The stated charge of a thousand foot upon the present establishment, including the pay of the officers and soldiers, the great masa for cloaths and accoutrements, the little masa, levy money, ammunition bread, the charge of the hospital, beds, fire, candle, &c. in quarters, amount yearly to 100,000 crowns, a little more or less, as there is a difference in the price of bread and lodging, if we except the Swiss, who cost much more; so that for the 9000 foot, which it is proposed to reduce, there would be an annual saving of 900,000 crowns.

The charge of a thousand horse, taking in all the articles mentioned in respect to the foot, and adding the gratuity, which is granted monthly for remounting, for barley and straw, usually rises up to 275,000 crowns vellon yearly, a little more or less,

less, as there is a difference in the price of the ratios of straw, and of barley, and the charge of lodging. This estimate is upon the foot of the present pay, and number of officers in the regiments of horse and dragoons; so that as it is proposed to reduce 4000 horse, there will be a saving of 1,100,000 crowns; and both the abatements will amount to 2,000,000 of crowns.

There might also be recommended some other convenient, and very reasonable pieces of œconomy in the charges of the army, and in war, that would yield us considerable sums, and yet the troops have all conveniencies, and the army be very well provided in all other instances. But this I refer to a future consideration, and now shall only appropriate the net savings of the said 2,000,000 of crowns, as a fund for the use of the navy.

By this saving we shall find the above deficiency of 1,760,000 crowns made up and secured for a fund to pay the expence of the said fifty men of war, and a surplus of 240,000 crowns, which would go near to maintain two other ships of the line and two frigates, if there were need of such an augmentation; or it may be appropriated towards the charge of the other twenty ships, which are commissioned to convoy the flotas and galleons, and for the protection of the American coasts.

Were one obliged to draw out the particulars of the charge of each ship, according to its rate and force, one should expend many sheets of paper in the bare stating of so tedious an account; but I have thought proper to save my self this trouble, though it may be of some importance, as I reckon that the general calculation I have made is suffici-

ent for the main purposes of this treatise. Nor in calculations, that rise up to millions of crowns, can there be any great risk from an error of 2 or 300,000 crowns, which may possibly happen. Moreover, should the cost of the fifty men of war amount to 200,000 crowns more than they have been laid at in this estimate, it will be made amends for by the 240,000 crowns, a sum, which the saving out of the land forces exceeded; and it may happen, that instead of a deficiency, there may be a considerable surplus out of the money that has been judged necessary to maintain the fifty men of war.

At the same time it is to be considered, that besides the surplus of 240,000 crowns according to this calculation, other very considerable augmentations may be expected from the duties and other advantages, that will accrue to the revenue, when the commerce of his majesty's subjects shall flourish by means of the protection and support of the very fleet, which I propose to be enlarged. To these may be added considerable sums, that must be saved, whenever the men of war and frigates, stationed to guard the coast, shall be employed in the transport of artillery, bombs, granades, ball, arms, carriages for the artillery, pioneer's tools, rigging, sail-cloth, planking and other timbers and stores both for the land and sea service, and which at present, for want of shipping of our own, are now put on board vessels hired upon freight, and for the most part belonging to foreigners; a circumstance, which, besides the expence, endangers the service of his majesty, especially as this very artillery, and other stores, may fall into the hands of infidels, and be turned against ourselves, when they

they should be employed by us against them, if, in their passage from Cantabria and other parts to Cadiz, or the garisons of Africa, their corsairs should pick them up; a mischance these transports are now very much exposed to; and the consequences of it, together with the dispositions calculated to remedy the evil, shall be set forth in another place, as fully as an affair of its importance shall merit.

It is further observable, that as we are at peace with the maritime powers, and there is great probability of its long continuance, we shall not be obliged to keep the seventy men of war, even when we have such a navy, constantly in commission; and by this means we shall find a very considerable saving out of the fund appropriated to the use of the navy, which may be applied to the extraordinary demands of war and other pressing emergencies; for we must be sensible, that as we proceed in augmenting our naval power, we may reduce the land army, till they bear such a proportion to each other, as his majesty shall determine to be most for the welfare of his kingdoms; and this saving out of the disbanded troops may answer the expence of it.

As to the remaining twenty ships of the navy, which I propose for the service of the India trade, and the protection of our coast, I apprehend we may raise a sure and sufficient fund for the maintenance of them in the following manner.

The windward fleet or squadron was stationed (as Don Joseph de Veytia remarks in his treatise upon the West-India trade abovementioned, lib. 2. chap. 5.) to cruise between the islands and upon the coasts of India; to convoy the flotas from

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Vera Cruz to the Havana; to transport pay to the garisons, and suppress the piracies of other nations; and at this time such a squadron is apprehended to be more useful than ever; for, besides the reasons already given, it now becomes necessary to prevent the illicit trade, which foreigners have carried on, and have much increased for some years past.

To replace this squadron, and for other services, I propose to take out of this fleet four ships of the line, and four frigates, of the rates given above, and to relieve them every two years at most by fresh men of war, for the reasons I gave in the 65th chapter. Though this squadron, the last time it had a being, was but three or four ships of middling rates, and there is at present only one middling man of war and a tender upon the station, it is well known, that in more ancient times, it consisted of thirteen. And as it appears too, that several duties were imposed in the Indies for the support of this fleet, but that the revenue arising from them has been diverted to other uses, it will be very reasonable and convenient to recover this fund, and apply it to the service, for which it was originally intended, and ought to be appropriated; especially as Don Bernardo Tinagero, in the proposal, he drew up in the year 1713, at the time he was secretary to the council of the Indies, and which his majesty approved, for building ten men of war in the yards of the Havana; part of them to replace this very squadron, and the rest to protect the flotas and galleons, gives us this assurance, that the duties appropriated to the maintenance of the windward fleet in New Spain alone, raised the sum of 435,802 dollars yearly; and

and that if the revenue were better administered, it would yield more, even a very considerable addition. This convinces me, that it will suffice for building and maintaining the said eight ships of war. But should it fall something short of the annual expence of them; since they will cost much more in America than in these kingdoms, we may assign over to the same service what the king's revenue will save, by having these very ships to transport money, artillery, arms, and other stores, and provisions from Vera Cruz to the islands, and the rest of the garisons, which for some years past has been done by private shipping, taken up by the crown upon freight, and, independant of the considerable charge, has put also his majesty's service to great hazard, there having been several instances, when these transports, upon account of their small force, have fallen into the hands of the pirates; that infest those seas, and by such fresh succours enabled those free-boaters to commit still greater depredations and insults upon the common cause. But should even both these resources prove insufficient to answer this demand, I am persuaded, that the deficiency may be made up without any new impost, by appropriating a small part of the increase, which the treasury must find from the duties, and other ways, whenever we re-establish this Squadron, and carry into execution the other measures proposed for that part of his majesty's dominions, which will put a stop to the illicite trade carried on by other nations, especially by the way of Jamaica, Martinica, Curazao, Surinam, &c. to the great detriment of his majesty's revenues; and which will be greatly augmented
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by these provisions, both in the ports of America, and her inland countries.

There still remains a fund to be provided for the eight ships of the line and four frigates, which are laid out for convoys to the flota and galeons, and the little squadron known by the name of Azogue fleet; and I think we may insure it fully, if we do but observe the fine disposition that has been made in the dispatch and conduct of the flotas and galeons, but more particularly of that, which was dispatched for New Spain in the year 1717, under the care of Don Francisco Varas y Valdes, intendant of the navigation and commerce of the Indies. For a memorial or account having been drawn out of all the sums disbursed for the two men of war that were its convoy, viz. the Nuestra Senora de Begona, and Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe; as also of the tender, the Nuestra Senora de Grazia, as well in fitting out, as wages, &c. of the ship's crew, and all other incidental charges during the whole voyage, which lasted 18 months, including even an estimate of the damage the men of war had sustained from the voyage; and after bringing to account all the profits made by the revenue upon freights of the goods and fruits, that were shipped on board these vessels by private traders, without loading them too deep, there appears to be a balance in its favour of 70,000 dollars, exclusive of the duties paid to his majesty upon the said merchandise and fruits, both at their going out and return home. To these great advantages ought to be added also that of transporting the king's money, pope's bulls, and stamp paper, which was also done by the said ships; all which particulars will be specified in
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the copy of the memorial at the end of this chapter ; and it is observable, that, for the reasons mentioned at the foot of the account, we may expect that the net profits upon the voyage of two middling ships of the line and one tender, as convoys to the flota, will regularly amount to above 100,000 dollars, by the gains they will make upon what is shipped on board these three vessels only, allowing for all their whole charges in the manner abovementioned. But on a supposition, that the voyage be only 14 or 15 months, as it often happens, instead of the 18, which this proved to be, there will be still a greater balance in favour of the revenue, independant of the king's duties, which it receives upon the merchandize both in Spain and the Indies ; nor is the produce of them taken into the amount of gains, which this memorial specifies.

I have been assured also by persons of good understanding and credit, that in case the same dispositions be made, as were at that time, and which tend only to prevent abuses, and oblige every person to be content with what is his due, equal or greater gains may be made upon the three or four king's ships, that convoy the galleons to the Terra Firma ; and that it is only from the two men of war, bound to New Spain under the name of Azogue ships, that we cannot expect equal profits ; not so much because the private ships are fewer in number, as that they are only permitted to carry fruits, which are of less value than bale goods, and other commodities. However, the profits upon these freights will suffice to pay all the charge of the said ships, and yield also a considerable balance in their favour ; and it is to be understood, that
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we shall reap all these advantages without loading them so deep, as to weaken their defence against an enemy.

These facts plainly shew, that the twelve men of war and frigates, which shall be commissioned to convoy the flotas, galeons, or other considerable India fleets; will not only be maintained by the profits upon their freights, when things are put under the regulations that have been recommended; but there will be a considerable surplus every year to be appropriated to the maintenance of some of the men of war, that shall be in the Spanish ports and seas; or to bear in part the charge of new ships, to replace such as shall be worn out, and useless, or shall be lost in this trade, or any other service, but we can add, that after his majesty has a navy of such a number of ships, and such force, as he ought to have, the flotas, galeons, and voyages to India will then be more frequent, secure, and profitable, especially, if we carry into execution the plan of stationing eight ships upon those coasts, which will be an effectual means to enlarge the commerce of his majesty's subjects, and make it flourish; and improve his own royal duties, as well in the ports of Spain and the Indies, as in the inland provinces of both kingdoms. And all these benefits resulting from the establishment of such a fleet, should also make us project, without laying a heavier load upon the subject, new funds the better to insure the expence of it, and to make up what is wanting for the building of the ships, in case the other provisions already made, prove insufficient for the entire discharge of both expences.

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I am aware of the great charge of building, and fitting out a number of ships of the line, that will be wanted to make up the above seventy, including frigates. But it is also certain, that during the time of building and fitting them out, there will not be the other expence of wages, &c. and since it must be some years before they can be ready to put in commission, because all of them cannot be set about at the same time; and it would not be our interest to hasten them too much, as we have not at present a sufficient number of officers and sailors to man them, one has reason to imagine, that in the mean time some extraordinary efforts will be made to surmount these first difficulties, as they are to be got over by degrees with the help of those supplies and other provisions made by his majesty from time to time, for the encouragement of building and fitting out more men of war. And not doubting but the first that shall be ready for service, will be immediately commissioned to favour the navigation between Spain and the Indies, and for the protection of the coast of Spain, it is very natural to conclude, that from this instant commerce will begin to improve and yield advantages, that will enable us gradually to supply the other expences of providing and maintaining the navy, to which use should also be appropriated the saving from the proposed reduction of the land forces. At the same time we shall obtain another advantage of equal moment to the navy, for by enlarging our navigation to the Indies, and stationing the guarda costas, that shall be recommended in another place, in order to support the trade and fisheries upon our own coasts,

our sea faring people will increase in number, and be better mariners; two things we stand in great need of. For we must be sensible, that unless we both increase our sailors by such a step, and find them abler seamen, most part of the seventy men of war, were they really built and ready to put to sea, would be of no use to us. And this is the foundation of a maxim already advanced, that a powerful navy can never exist without the support of an extensive commerce, both for want of a fund to maintain it, and skill in navigation; the rudiments of which are principally acquired in trading ships, and the fisheries, that usually flourish most in times of peace; and peace also gives us an opportunity of disarming and laying up most of the king's ships, as they do at this very time in England and Holland, and depend upon having a sufficient number of sailors bred up to the sea in the thousands of trading and fishing vessels, which they can impress to man a greater number of men of war, when it shall be necessary to put more in commission upon account of war, or any other emergence; and they can do it without any considerable disadvantage to the other two important interests; for the merchants can very easily replace the hands, that have been taken out of their ships on account of the necessity of fitting out a fleet, which is but a temporary thing; as it will scarce be more than one sailor out of each vessel, these being so numerous, and as they are also distributed in all the sea ports, and provinces upon the coast, recruits are more easily obtained.

Besides the considerable savings, and extraordinary advantages proposed, especially from a reduction of the land forces to sixty thousand men, including

cluding ten thousand horse, we may raise other supplies by ways and means we are obliged to pursue, not only as they are prudent regulations and becoming a wise government, (as I have already mentioned) but as it is also our duty to retrench superfluities, and correct abuses. By these steps we can also save millions of crowns yearly, independant of what is expended upon his majesty's palaces, where many believe there is some excess; but it is an inquiry that does not at all concern me, nor am I able to judge of it; and the considerable amount rising out of this œconomy may be appropriated, if there should be occasion for it, to enlarge the marine, to discharge the debts upon the revenue, and to wipe off all just demands upon it, that of the juro, or pensions, being the heaviest load, from which many of the proprietors do not receive one per cent. upon their capital, by reason of the valimientos to the revenue. For however the defence, and other pressing exigencies of the government, might give rise to the said valimientos, it is a consequence of the thing I am labouring to establish, that whenever these shall be less pressing, or by an improvement of the revenue, or even a saving from prudent œconomy, some relief may be administered, and there be a possibility of satisfying what is legally due upon their capitals, managing also in such manner, that many of them, who now receive nothing, may be turned over to funds sufficient to pay them; in strict justice both these ought to be done, as we have reason to expect it for the justification of his majesty, whenever the revenue shall be in a condition to satisfy in this instance his nice honour and conscience. And though at present I pass by

the particulars, referring them to a more convenient season, which the effects of these my good intentions to serve his majesty and the publick may be a means to bring about.

In this and some other chapters, that treat of a marine, I have mentioned several things, though it be in a cursory way, relating to the commerce between Spain and the Indies, upon account of the connexion they necessarily have with this revival and maintenance of a navy; since it is my intention to make a distinct inquiry into a transaction so important as the said commerce is, and in as full a manner, as this great interest deserves. However, I cannot close this chapter without taking notice in the mean time, that as the royal revenue can plainly make a great advantage upon the freight of the ships of war that serve for convoys to the flotas and galeons, even by a moderate loading, that will neither lessen the ships compliment, or make them less defensible by rendering their guns uselefs, it is a certain consequence, that even a greater advantage may be made, if, besides these men of war, that are chiefly designed to protect the merchant-men, there be six other middling ships taken out of the navy, at least in times of peace, and fitted out as merchant-men, three with the flota for New Spain, and the rest with the galeons to the Terra Firma, so as to carry no more guns or men than merchants usually have in their ships for the same voyage, allowing for an augmentation in proportion to the difference of tonnage in his majesty's ships. For it is well known, that a voyage in this shape will be much less charge upon the revenue, and as there will be more stowage, they can ship a larger quantity of goods

goods and fruits, which will proportionably increase the amount of freight. And as the profits will be increased both ways, it should not be a surprise, if each ship bring into the treasury above sixty thousand dollars clear gains in a single voyage, raised upon bare freights, which merchants will cheerfully pay, for the sake of being more secure, that his majesty's ships, even when they sail rather as merchant-men, than men of war, will be in better condition, better manned and conducted. Moreover, these additional ships furnished by the admiralty, and fitted out as merchant-men, will be a great ease and encouragement to adventurers in this trade; for having few vessels of our own for this service, when the dispatch of a flota or galeons is published, they are usually obliged to purchase them of foreigners; even though they be the built of their respective countries, and have defects that render this long navigation still more hazardous, with as little scruple to the excessive price they are generally bought at, by their taking advantage of the indispensable necessity, which the buyers are under of having them at any rate. And if at other times they provide themselves with ships of the built of his majesty's dominions, as the laws demand, they usually experience the same evil, as they have no choice; inconveniencies, that we shall always be exposed to, till trade flourish, and his majesty's subjects be enabled to build larger and better ships.

The considerable profit that must accrue to the revenue from the freight of these six ships, may likewise be appropriated, as a farther fund to the use of the navy; and, with the same view, an advantage may be made of freights in our commerce

with Buenos Ayres, by his majesty's employing two ships in this service, that shall be proper for the river of Plate ; and by this means, that trade will be more regular and profitable to his subjects, which is trifling at present, because the voyages we make thither are very seldom, I may say, scarce one in four years, which gives the English and Portuguese more frequent opportunities of doing it, and of making greater advantage of this illicit commerce. But I shall enlarge farther upon this head, when I come to consider more immediately the India trade.

The following table is an estimate of the charges of fitting out a man of war of sixty guns, of the pay of the officers, and the ships company, with the amount of the day allowances for six months voyage.

of COMMERCE, &c.

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Total in reals vellon,
 To charges of a regular career 150,000 reals vellon 150,000
 To charges of voyage, diet, hospital, medicines, wax, talow, and other petty articles, 90,000 reals. 90,000

	No.	Month's wages.	Day allow.	6 Month's wages.	
Captain of the ship	1	850 rs.	6	5100 rs.	
Second captain	1	600	3	3600	
Lieutenant	1	400	1	2400	
Second lieutenant	1	400	1	2400	
Ensign	1	250	1	1500	
Second ensign	1	250	1	1500	
Chaplain	1	209	1	1200	
Secretary	1	250	1	1300	
Surgeon	1	250	1	1500	
Second surgeon	1	120	1	720	
Gunner	1	180	1	1080	
Quarter masters of 95 rs	3	285	3	1710	
Master	1	250	1	1500	
Counter-master	1	200	1	1200	
Second counter-master	1	180	1	1080	
Boatswain	1	180	1	1080	
Second boatswain	1	120	1	720	
Pilot	1	300	1	1800	
Second pilot	1	200	1	1200	
Diver	1	150	1	900	
Carpenter	1	180	1	1080	
Carpenter's mate	1	120	1	720	198,195
Caulker	1	180	1	1080	
Caulker's mate	1	120	1	720	
Cockswain	1	100	1	600	
Cockswain of the pinnace	1	100	1	600	
Sailmaker	1	120	1	720	
Cooper	1	120	1	720	
Armourer	1	100	1	600	
Lantern	1	90	1	540	
Cook	1	90	1	540	
Quarter gunners at 90 rs.	80	7200	80	43200	
Mariners at 70 rs.	150	10500	150	63000	
Boys at 45 rs.	110	4950	110	29700	
Swobbers at 30 rs.	13	390	13	2340	
Serjeants	4	210	4	1260	
Drummers	2	75	2	450	
File	1	37½	1	225	
Corporals	8	300	8	1800	
Marines	92	2435	92	14610	
40333032½					500198,195

To the amount of officers table for six months voyage, at 1500 rs. per month, making 9,000
 To ditto 91,000 allowances, being 500 per day, at 92 mrs. vellon, each allowance 446,235
 Total of charges of fitting out, and the said six months voyage 693,430

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An estimate of the charge of a sixty gun ship, laid up for the six winter months in port at cadiz

	No.	Months wages in reals vellon.	Allowances per month.
Counter-maister - - -	1	200	30
Second counter-maister, } or boatswain - - -	1	180	30
Sailors upon half pay, } and day allowances }	6	240	180
Boys ditto - - -	8	180	240
Swobbers ditto - - -	2	30	60
	18	800	540

	Reals.	mrs.
To the amount of 3240 allowances, for 6 months, {	8767	2
at 92 mrs.		
To ditto wages for the said 6 months - - -	4800	0.
Total	13567	2

These make 1356 crowns vellon; and as there may be a farther charge of between 13 and 14,000 crowns for pay to the officers of the ship laid up, and for the marines, and some gunners, that are also kept in pay on such occasions, it is apprehended, the whole charge of a 60 gun ship laid up for six months may amount to 15000 crowns; which sum, added to the 69,000 crowns accounted for already, as charges upon a six months expedition, the yearly expence will then amount to the 84,000 crowns, which it was rated at before, a little more or less. But the expence would be less, if, in discharging the ship, we pursue the plan of the navies of France, England, and Holland, of which mention has been already made in another place; however, I must repeat here, that there very seldom happens a time, when all the ships of war are in commission; and though it be the case, it is very rare that the service is such, as to oblige the principal part of a navy to be six months out of port.

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What follows is a stated account to shew the benefit which accrued to the king's revenue, from the freight of two of his majesty's ships of the line, and one frigate, that were convoy to the flota of New Spain, and set sail for that kingdom out of the bay of Cadiz, the 27th day of July 1717, and returned to the same port upon the 16th of August 1718, under the command of commodore Don Antonio Serrano, according to the particulars, as delivered by his majesty's commissary of the marine, who was on board the flota, of all charges of fitting them out, during the voyage out and home, including that of the first cost of them, and other articles; the account of the supercargoes, with damage from the leakage of the said ships sustained by the goods belonging to the factors and private traders, that were shipped on board the said vessels upon freight. In this account is inserted under the article of cost, the value of the hull, masts, rigging, sails, &c. of the frigate, as also that of 30 iron cannon, which the said commissary omitted in his account; and a deduction is made from the whole value of them in the Indies, for those that were brought back to Spain, and there is a proportionable charge made, the particulars being as follows.

Estimate

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Estimate of the principal costs of fitting out, wages, damage of goods, and all other charges of this voyage.

The CAPITANA, named NUESTRA SEÑORA DE BEGONA.

	Pesos escv.	Rs.	mrs. o. pt.	Total of costs.
To cost of hull, guns, matting, rigging and sails, charge of careening and cleaning her bottom in Spain and the Indies, wages of the ship's crew, extra-allowance to the superior officers and marines, officers-table, and ship's provision, diet, medicines and hospital, as per account delivered by the king's commissary 1,243,000 rs. and 3 mrs. old plate which are therein charged and make	155375	0	3	
To prime cost of sundry kinds of merchandise, which suffered damage outward bound in this ship, as appears in the supercargoe's draughts for the discharge of the same 16302 rs. and 16 mrs. making	2037	6	16	
To 3535 reals old plate, average paid upon damage received by a box of Vanillas shipped on board the said vessel, which make	441	7	0	
To 3000 pesos-escudos charged also, and paid to the supercargoe	3000	0	0	
Total	160,854	5	19	160854 5 19

The

The ALMIRANTA, named NUESTRA SENORA DE GUADALUPE.

	Pesos escu.	Rs.	mrs. o. pt.	Total of costs.
To cost of hull, guns, masting, rigging, sails, and other charges, as particularised in the foregoing article of the Capitana, as per accompt delivered by the king's commissary, 927,615 reals and 31 mrs. making	115951	7	31	160,854 5 19
To prime cost of sundry kinds of merchandise, which suffered damage in this voyage, and were shipped on board this vessel on the accompt of private traders; average paid out and home upon the effects of the factors, 46,266 reals and 6 mrs. which make	5783	2	6	
To 3000 pesos escudos plate charged at the same time, and paid to the supercargo	3000	0	0	
	124,735	2	3	124,735 2 3

The TENDER, named NUESTRA SENORA DE GRACIA.

To prime cost of this frigate in Spain, according to inventory, as it stands in an article of the accompt delivered by the king's commissary 59,424 reals, making	7428	0	0	
To loss of 30 pieces of iron cannon, which this frigate mounted, and are charged in another article of the said accompt, amounting to	1824	7	17	
To 154,310 reals, 16 mrs. amount of charges of careening, fitting out, victualling, wages and other costs, conformable to the said accompt, making	19288	6	16	
To prime cost of sundry merchandise, which being shipped on board this vessel, was damaged; as likewise average paid upon the effects of factors, shipped also, 239,301 reals, 12 mrs. making	29912	5	12	
To 1500 pesos escudos plate charged at the same time, and paid to the above supercargo, who was supercargo of this frigate.	1500	0	0	
	59,954	3	11	59,954 3 11
				345,544 2 33

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Profits and gains made by the said ships, consisting of the value them, the freights made by them, and other advantages.

The CAPITANA, named NUESTRA SENORA DE BEGONA.

	Pesos escudos.	Rs.	mrs. o.pt.	Total of gains.	Net profits on the voyage.
By amount of freight upon merchandise shipped on board this vessel, charged at Cadiz before sailing, as appears from the account of the supercargo, amounting in the whole to 11,174 pesos escudos, and 4 reals old plate	11,174	4	6		
By principal freights upon ditto received at Vera Cruz, including payments for passengers, and what the factors paid upon their effects, amounting to	64,859	4	17		
By damaged goods, the prime cost of which was paid to the proprietors, sold as appears by the supercargo's account, and amounting to	38	0	17		
By freights and gains made homeward bound, including those made upon the money of the factors, and passage money, amounting to	48,248	2	24		
By value of the vessel in the condition she arrived at Cadiz, with sundry articles contained in the account delivered by the king's commissary, as appears from the same 528,909 reals, 33 mrs. amounting to	66,113	5	33		

190,437 1 23 190,437 1 23 29,582 4 4

The ALMIRANTE, named NUESTRA SENORA DE GUADALUPE.

By amount of freight upon merchandise shipped on board this vessel, charged at Cadiz before sailing, as appears by the accounts of the supercargo	9,851	7	25		
By principal freights upon ditto, charged at Vera Cruz, including passage money, and what was paid by the factors on their effects in her, amounting to	61,786	6	7		
By damaged goods, the prime cost of which was paid to the proprietors, amounting to	1,852	3	0		
By freights and gains made homeward bound, including passage money, and what was paid by the factors on their silver, amounting to	43,416	6	19		
By value of the ship at her return to Cadiz, with sundry articles contained in the account of the king's commissary, 242,705 reals, and 17 mrs. making	30,263	1	17		

147,171 1 0 147,171 1 0 22,435 6 31